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WITH THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE, EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

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PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES, AND DIAGRAMS

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CLARK E. RIDPATH

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CHAPTER LVII.—SUBSISTENCE AND PRIMITIVE CONDITIONS.

THE immigrants into Italy found the hill-slopes of their country covered with oaks and sweet chestnuts. The fruit of the latter tree was one of the principal natural resources of the early race. In many parts of Italy the chestnut has been from time immemorial a substitute for corn, and in some mountain districts it is the principal food to the present day. It must not be thought that such a gift of nature as a nut growing wild in the forest was a trivial circumstance with immigrant peoples before their industries had become complex and multiform. Even the acorn was by no means a neglected fruit by the primitive settlers of Europe. There were times when whole tribes and rising peoples looked to the annual gift of the oak as a means of support. This was true in Latium and in other parts of Italy as late as the time when the mythical kings were struggling into the early light of history.

Importance of certain nuts to the primitive Italicans.

But better than any form of mast was the olive, which grew wild and abundant when the Aryans came in. From the earliest days this fruit was an important food. Its richness in oil was known from the earliest times. In this was found a substitute for butter and the fat of animals; and with the opening up of commercial relations olive oil became a prime article of the market. It does not appear that the other citrus fruits were known in primitive Italy. The orange, the lemon, the citron, the lime were of later introduction; and the same is true of the Indian fig and the aloe. In later ages all these fruits abounded. In the sixteenth century Indian corn was introduced into Italy, and has ever since constituted one of the principal crops. Pomegranates and the licorice root grow wild, as do the mastic and the myrtle.

Other native and transplanted products.

Descending somewhat from the higher levels and approaching the shore we reach the native land of the vine. How far the evolution of the grape had proceeded in the days of the primitive Latins it would be impossible to tell; but we know that in their hands the vine became a thing of beauty, and its fruit one of the prime objects of Roman desire. The manufacture of wine was understood by the Aryan tribes long before their outgoing from Asia. Indeed, it would appear that wine-making is absolutely the oldest art known to man. The tradition of every race has preserved references to the use of this beverage, and generally to its intoxicating qualities, as far back as the beginnings of civilization. Certain it is that in Italy, before the days of romance and song, before the days of conquest and glory, the common beverage of the people, from the rustic board of the Latin farmer to the semibarbaric feast of his king, was wine.

Prevalence of the vine; wine-making the oldest art.

In the primitive Italian fields grew those noble grass seeds called wheat and rye and barley. The origin of these grains in their developed form is far back in the childhood of the human race. They are as old as Europe, that is, as old as the

Richness of the country in the cereal grains.

man of Europe. In Italy rye flourished most in the Po valley; wheat and barley through Central and Southern Italy. From time immemorial these grains were the breadcorn of the Italicans. They were not used in the production of malt, and have never been. For in a country flowing with wine as if it were spring water, what need of ale or beer or the fiery decoctions of alcohol? The cereals were used by the old Italians after the primitive manner of parching and pounding. Vergil has shown us in what way the half-drowned Æneids, thrown up on the Carthaginian shore, hastened to bring out their sea-soaked corn to dry it by the fire, to parch it, *et frangere saxo fruges*—to break the grains on a stone. So did the old Italicans of history.

The valley soil and loam of Italy was fertile in the highest degree. Herein grew all manner of succulent roots; turnips, parsnips, carrots, artichokes, and many other varieties of ground products. The earth had in it an almost tropical quality. Onions, garlic, love-apples, which the moderns call tomatoes, and capsicums have always abounded in Italy. The melon species added its varieties to the natural abundance of the country, while beyond the garden grows the orchard, with a wealth of fruits rarely equaled in other lands.

Ground and vine products, dates, and figs.

VIEW OF BIBBIENA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier.

In the warm districts on the south

western coast the date flourished. One might almost be reminded of Mesopotamia by the genial heat and power of this southern air. In all the more favorable parts of Central and Southern Italy the fig tree grew vigorously and yielded abundant fruit. It was among the best native gifts to the primitive Italicans, as well as to the strong Romans of the middle period. But it is not needed to enumerate the well-known list of products which fertile and balmy Italy gave with such abounding generosity to those who sought her friendship.

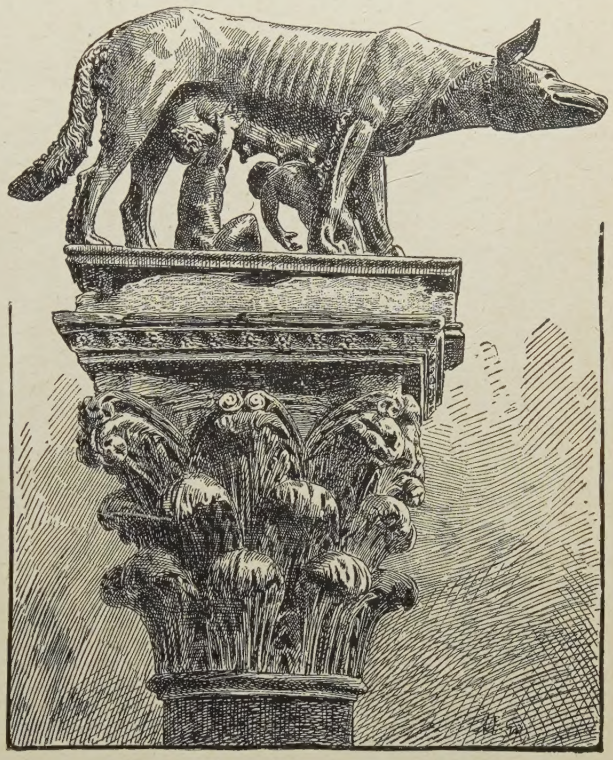
Strength and permanency of the Latin planting.

The old Latini fixed themselves on this fine soil, in this beautiful landscape, amid these generous surroundings. They came to stay. From the tribal emergence of the Latin race to the downfall of the Western empire is a period of more than thirteen centuries; or if we reckon to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, a little over two thousand two hundred years. It is the longest single stretch of political dominion known in the annals of mankind. The root of this tree went down in Latium, and we may now notice the spreading of its early branches. Not that we shall enter upon any formal account of events. It is ours rather to watch the growth of the race, to trace out the sources and elements of its strength, and to mark what things soever it assimilated from the surrounding world.

Rome was a city. It was not at first a state. It was never a state in the sense in which that word is used in modern times. Before Rome the country was Latium. There was the confederacy of Latin towns. Some were stronger than the rest, and would have leadership. A restless, turbulent, warlike folk were these rough rustics and hill people. Their master passion was mastery. To be dominant was the one unconquerable lust of this ancient stock.

Municipality the bottom principle in Roman organization.

Other peoples have loved and sung and gone to war. Others have conquered and extended their dominion, sweeping down surrounding states and crushing them under the car of conquest. The motives have been various —spoil, the love of mere victory, cruel, slave-getting victory, the wearisomeness of the settled life regaining at intervals the wild freedom of original barbarism; but Rome from the beginning conquered *to be master*. She would rule. Her passion for dominion had in it, even from the primitive ages, a touch of rationality,



THE NURSING WOLF OF SIENNI, IN TURIN.
Drawn by Giraldon, from a photograph.

The Roman race would master for the sake of mastery.

a sort of political ulterior purpose, a covert wish to organize, to build.

The primacy among the Latin cities moved around. First one and then another was in the lead, had the headship.

SABINE WOMEN INTERPOSING IN THE BATTLE.—After the painting by David.

Rome as a village and town; the Sabine episode.

Finally Rome became a mere village, partly on the most defensible hill which was called the Capitoline, partly on the slope and down into the bottom between the first summit and the Aventine; simply a town. How founded, the legend tells us uncertainly; mixture of superlative fable with certain grains of fact, the fable predominating always, especially at the beginning. But the difference is naught. History begins in fable. Does not all reality start from a myth? Before the real land is the shadow land.

Perhaps there was a strife with the Sabines. Very probable would such an occurrence be there in the boisterous morning of things. Maybe the strong male Romans wanted more women to wife than their own clan could yield. Perhaps the Sabines would fight to recover their lost beauties with long-streaming hair, borne off savagewise on the shoulders of men more burly than themselves. All these things might have been. Many of them probably were; some certainly. The main thing is that the Roman

character began to grow and to become typical.

Out in the open country the Roman farmer sat down to his coarse fare. If he said grace, it had not yet reached up to Jove or downward to Pluto. What faith he had was near akin to idolatry at first. He had on his mantelpiece certain small figures. Originally they were effigies of his ancestors. Now they were his *Lares*, household gods, almost idols. Dimly behind them the sturdy rustic saw an undefinable spiritual fact, dim as yet in his vision. On the table was black bread, made of barleycorn, parched and pounded to coarse flour, baked in the ashes or rude oven; also beans and other pulse, coarsely cooked, but keenly relished by that strong appetite.

What things were spread for food in Latium.

Some fish was added. His neighbors near the coast had taken them from the sea or river mouth, and had exchanged them with the inland Roman for venison or pork or beef. It was a rude, meaty commerce, just beginning. The first Romans knew well how to capture game. Even Æneas on the African coast shot down the stags and tore the hide from their ribs, according to Vergil's song. In Italy, as we have said, the Italicans reared great cattle and slew them for food. They were also from the beginning eaters of swine. At a very early day they had already bred up *Sus scrofa* into an animal fit for food, and he was so much of a morsel that the coarse Roman saw in him something fit to be offered to the gods. Few primitive peoples have ventured to lay *pork* on the altar. The animal was greatly disparaged in the East, and even in the rough West was unable to derive from the imagination, or even the taste of man, any touch of possible sentiment.

ROMAN MAIDEN.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

There were wild fruits on the board; sweet chestnuts gathered from the hills; figs dried from last year's store or freshly ripe; olive oil in the earthen cruse not yet artistic in pattern; vegetables, as we have seen; wine to drink; a number of young Romans at the table side, and Roman maidens like Juno for strength; not delicate, but beautiful, demure, expecting to be matrons in their turn. The scene was not without dignity; a grave and not unvirtuous feast, indicative of longevity and vital force, and marked with a single ideal touch—a love of flowers. For even humble Romans, and from antiquity, adorned their tables with wreaths and garlands, not profusely and poetically as did the Greeks, but in a simple and natural way peculiar to themselves.—Such things were seen in Latium in the homes of men as early as the eighth century before our era.

Home scene of the primitive Romans.

Not much later the mineral resources of the country began to call out human enterprise. In the north were copper mines, leading to the manufacture of bronze. At what time the extraction of iron from the ore began we may not well determine; but in course of time the rich deposits of Elba became the source from which the iron wealth of

Beginnings of metallurgy and the building arts.

the Romans was mostly drawn. Building stone was abundant, and the stone mason was early abroad in the land. The Etruscans were the teachers of the building art, especially that massive work for which the primitive structures of Western Italy were noted. The rich deposits of marble, the white and beautiful products of the mines of Carrara and the alabaster of Tuscany had not yet attracted artistic workmen and suggested their higher achievements; but stone building began early and abounded in the Latin cities; and Rome was not behind the rest in planting herself firmly in the rock.

Slow evolution of the Italicans; swiftness of the Greeks.

The Latin state found itself between two diverse national forces. On the north lay the Etruscans and the comparatively new Celtic race of the Veneti. On the south was the city land of Magna Græcia. One of the marked differences between the Greek and Latin races was the swift evolution of the former and the slow growth of the latter. In all parts where the Greeks fixed themselves there was an almost explosive expansion into conscious nationality; but the movement of the Italicans was slow, tedious, at times almost stationary.

This radical difference in the two races must be borne in mind as an explanation of the earlier blossoming and fruit-bearing of Hellenic civilization around the Eastern Mediterranean. We have seen that the Latin race, or rather those primitive tribes which contained the potency of the Latin race, were the vanguard of the Græco-Italic Aryans on their invasion of peninsular Europe. We might have expected, therefore, from considerations *à priori* that the development of the Latini would have preceded that of the Greeks. It was the slow evolution of the former that prevented this result. We may suppose that the Latin Aryans had already settled into their seats before the Ionian Greeks had taken possession of Central Hellas; but the more rapid development of the latter brought them sooner into the foreground.

Meanwhile the Latini lagged in the west, while the Greeks grew great and flourished. One of the aspects of their vigorous expansion was the colonization of Southern Italy. They took possession as much as a thousand years B. C of the whole peninsula below the latitude of Apulia and Campania. Here they planted some of the most enlightened and powerful cities of antiquity Here sprang Tarentum, Sybaris, Crotona, Metapontum, Locri, Rhegium, and on the western coast the beautiful Greek towns of Cumæ and Neapolis The country thus covered embraced the after provinces of Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium, indeed, the whole ankle, heel, and toe of Italy.

Spread of the Greek race in Southern Italy.

We have already seen how the intellectual light of the Greeks diffused itself to the extremes of their migrations. Wherever a Greek city was planted the brilliancy of the home country was at once displayed. It was the same warmth and enthusiasm which had been at first kindled in Hellas that were thus borne abroad to foreign parts. This is to say that the intellectual classes of the Greeks in the home country sought by adventure in distant lands to satisfy ambitions and activities which were cramped in the narrow borders of the Hellenic states.

Diffusion abroad of the civilization of the Greeks.

But the literature and art of the Greek race were one, and were always referred to the home country. The Greek thinkers, philosophers, sages, and poets of foreign lands were glad to be reckoned

with their ancestry, and to throw their contributions into the common treasure of Greek glory. Plato himself was a resident for some time in Magna Græcia; but no one thinks of referring his philosophy to this local origin. On the contrary, he was a Hellene of the Hellenes. Whether in Italy, in Africa, in Macedonia, or in Western Asia, the Greek was a Greek.

Integrity of the race wherever distributed.

ROMAN SOLDIERS IN COMBAT.—From the Column of Trajan, Rome.

Thus, before the beginning of the prodigious growth of Rome, Greek civilization was prevalent in the south of Italy. Nor should it be forgotten that while the Latin race was thus pressed by two great forces, one above and the other below, it was on the east encircled and bordered by those Sabellian nations of whom the Samnites were the most formidable. The student of history will readily recall for how long a time and in how dubious a contest the Romans contended with the latter peoples for domination. The struggle with Samnium might be reckoned as the second stage in the progress of the Roman race, the first stage being the conquest and mastery of the cities of the Latin league.

War with Samnium the second stage of Roman development.

If we look at the nature of the pressure on the two sides of Latium, we shall find that on one side it was an impact of culture and on the other the impact of violence. It was art on one side and war on the other. From the side of Magna Græcia came the elements of

The ethnic impact on the two sides of Latium.

early intellectual development. Letters were introduced, and the forms of the rough vernacular language were brought into regularity. But we must not understand that the Romans yielded easily to the liking of the strong and self-willed Latins. On that side war came up in fierce gusts perpetually renewed. The very Tiber banks on the right hand margin were a dangerous frontier. The

OLD ROMAN TYPES—TARQUIN AND THE SIBYL.

to these influences which permeated the state from the south. The stock was stubborn, obdurate, indisposed by nature to culture and refinements, merely imitative in so far as it yielded at all.

The pressure on the north was more Etruscan cities in that direction were hostile and strong. Conflicts broke out fiercely, which were checked rather than quieted. Veii was the head of this offending. Considered in a larger sense,

Race struggle of the Romans and the Etruscans.

it was the struggle of the Etruscans to maintain their ascendency in Central Italy and of the Romans to gain the tinction. The case was absolute, and there was no middle ground.

It is worth while to note one or two

BRENNUS WITH THE GAULS IN ROME.

leadership. From first to last such a conflict on the side of Rome meant the subjection of the enemy or her own ex- cases of extremity, not that we are here considering events as such, but looking rather at the development of a

great race. More than once Rome was brought to the brink; more than once she was hair-hung over an abyss that had no bottom. Old Lars Porsena, King of Clusium, which had become the stronghold of Etruria after the decadence of Veii—also the refuge of the traitorous Tarquin—bore down in war on primitive Rome city and took her by the throat. Great is the difference in the conduct of early communities when they are so throttled. Sometimes there is merely an expiring gasp; sometimes a brief struggle and then death; and sometimes there is the writhing and twisting of a tremendous wiry giant that will not be strangled, until presently he tires the very fingers of his foe and with the first relaxation flings him off in disdain.

Hard straits of the Romans; contest with the Gauls.

It may require stratagem, even perfidy, to loosen the hold of the foreign hand; but the Latin state was capable of both. The foe was thrust back across the Tiber and Rome breathed. Woe to that Etruscan enemy when he in like fashion shall feel the Roman clutch at *his* throat! That iron hand never relaxes until the writhing of the antagonist ceases and his form is still in death. More dreadful still was the apparition of the Gauls. They cross the Tiber. They penetrate the walls. They climb the Capitol Hill. The Latin antagonist is certainly down this time forever. He who witnesses the struggle of gladiators in the sand of the arena sees first one and then the other above the body of his enemy. They whirl and turn and rise and fall. But with the final thrust it is the Gaul that staggers back and is gone. The danger was sufficient; but the combatant is stronger for the peril and more active for the contest.

War was the common mood of the states of antiquity; but never was an incipient kingdom so toughened and strained and hardened by warfare as was old Latium. In this there was, first of all, the instinctive force and disposition of the race; and, secondly, the suggestions of the environment. As to instinct, it can not be doubted that the Latini were warriors by preference. They had the aggressive passion, and the early growth of patriotism among the Roman people made them exceedingly fierce in resistance. The intensity of domestic life was equaled by the intensity of patriotic devotion to the state. The old Roman was not as was the Greek—a philosopher; but he *felt* the strong forces which bind mankind to local habitations, to particular districts as their own. There was thus a native passion in the Roman race for holding its territorial seat, and at the same time a domineering ambition to reach out by conquest into surrounding kingdoms.

Spirit of war intensified by ethnic disposition.

But more powerful than even these subjective moods of the Romans was the force of the environment. Rome was central to Latium; Latium was central to Italy; Italy was central to the Mediterranean countries; and these were the world. One need only to glance at the map to see the striking position of Italy. It is the dominant geographical fact in Southern Europe. Neither Greece nor Spain is situated for the mastery of the Mediterranean. Italy is so placed by nature. When to this we add the fertility and natural resources of the country, its salubrious climate, its general attractiveness as a home of men, we perceive at a glance the original conditions that not only suggested but made necessary the evolution of a stock

Influences of environment on Roman character.

and state like the Roman. There was a preponderance of physical advantages with the Latini from the start, and when to this we add the native instincts of the race we find sufficient reason for the empire which the ages will establish with its center on yonder Seven Hills.

Considering the general destiny of Rome, of the great race which displayed its activities from this center, we may well regard the paucity of harbors on the coast, the absence of the seafaring spirit, and the slow commercial movements of the Latins of the primitive ages as so many positive benefits to the race. The nonexistence in Italy of the facts here referred to gave opportunity for the principle of *residence*—of fixedness in a certain locality, of attachment to that locality as native land—to work out its strongest and most complete results. The commercial spirit among nations is not favorable to patriotism. In its exaggerated forms and tempers it is not even consistent with patriotism. Consider the nature of commerce, and its international character will readily be discovered. All seafaring tends to the obliteration of local attachments. They who ply the commerce between distant cities, the deep sea intervening, tarry a while in one port and a while in the other. In course of time the two extremes of the voyage are alike. The two languages spoken at the extremes become equally familiar to the ear and tongue of the sea merchant who voyages between. Moreover, the interfusion of products brought from all lands into a common mart tends to weaken the special affections of the consumer for these things which he has gathered from his own garden or orchard, from his own rivers, his own sheepfold. The intensity of all local attachments is greatly abated, and the enthusiasm for *Patria*, for native land, for birthplace and home, subsides into apathy and indifference.

Want of harbors tends to intensify national spirit.

In primitive Rome none of the commercial and cosmopolitan forces were present. For centuries after the planting of the Latin state foreign inter-

ROMAN MATRON.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

course was virtually unknown. The very kinship with another nation, even with the Greeks, was forgotten. There was neither suggestion nor desire to cultivate affinities with other peoples. The spirit of residence became intense in the last degree, and the preference

Absence of commercial and cosmopolitan influences.

called patriotism grew into a fiery passion seven times heated.

In the early history of the Roman race we miss especially any such event as the Trojan War. The very causes which, according to the legend, led to that early foreign drama did not exist—could not have existed—among the Romans. If Helen had been a Roman matron, vain would have been the temptations of both gods and men! Not she would have gone abroad with a stranger on any tour of license. She was a home lady whose lord sufficed for all her ambitions and affections. The spirit of the race was totally averse to that species of extravagant adventure and dramatic exploit which so well accorded with the temper of the Greeks. The result was that the primitive character of the Roman was prosaic, practical, saturnine.

There was no bluster of enterprise about the man of Latium. Even his love was matter of fact. His hatred was business. All of his activities and passions were circular, concentric around a domicile where the matron and the young Romans, his offspring, had their abode. In such a situation there could be no epic poetry. Mark the extreme difference in those highest intellectual products of the race, the heroic songs of the Greeks and the Romans. Homer is a man of the dawn. He is almost contemporaneous, so it would seem, with the events described in his epos. The intellectual exhilaration of the East was so great that the *Iliad* enacted did not long precede the *Iliad* sung. But in Italy how different is the situation! Vergil is the man of the empire. He is distant by more than a thousand years from the life and manners, the traditions and heroic actions of his poem. He is the court poet of Augustus, singing the deeds of the founders of his race. He could not have arisen on the borders of the age of Æneas, could not have flourished while the memory of Romulus and Remus was still quick in the minds of men. Had primitive Rome been subject to such agitations as was Hellas in the dawn, could she have been, even by her constitution and habit and situation, susceptible to those tremendous excitements and passions which roused to consciousness the soul of the Greek race, then indeed might Vergil have risen in the morning, and the *Æneid* have been even as the *Iliad*.

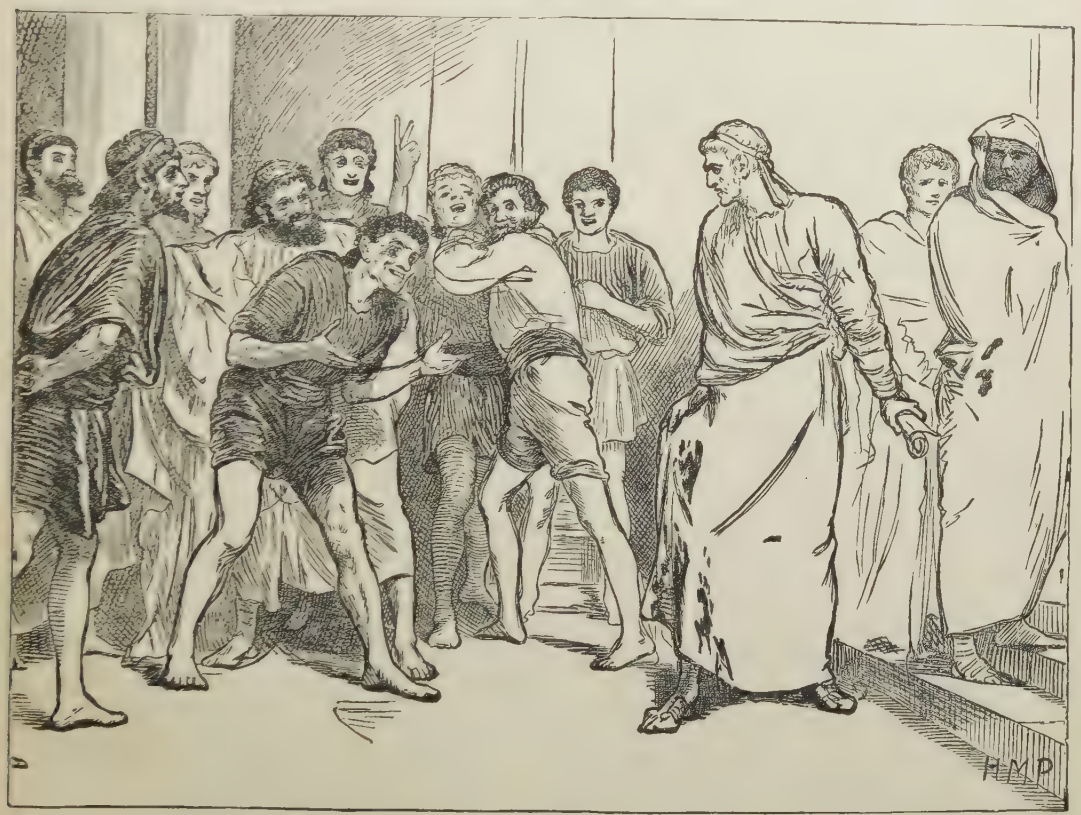
Contrasted conditions of the Greek and Latin epics.

VERGIL.
Drawn by H. Wolff.

We have been considering in these pages the sources of supply, real and ideal, from which the genius of Rome drew its sustenance and life. Food is not all taken from the earth. It is not

The immaterial food-supply of races.

all material aliment gotten from the ground and from the bodies of animals. On the contrary, there is a nutriment which is derived from the air, from the environment, from the invisible nature of things, from the world unseen. As it is with the individual man, so it is with the individual people, the race. Man feeds upon conditions as well as upon rye bread and fish. He assimilates only from the spring branch, the hollow trunks filled with wild honey, the abundance of the native fig tree, and the fat of the body of the stag, does the early community of men take its sustenance, but also from the form and fashion of things, the reflex actions of nature and history, the counter facts of situation, and the deep currents of invisible seas and continents.



PRIMITIVE GRÆCO-ROMAN TYPES.—POSTHUMIUS IN THE THEATER AT TARENTUM.

forces as well as rice. He makes bone and blood out of circumstances as much as from sugar cane and the fiber of beef. A race also, especially in the morning of its power, in its time of strong appetite and youthful, sound slumber and unimpaired digestion, draws in from all natural aspects and conditions, from its correlations with other races, and from the still stronger mysteries of ethnic instinct, its nutriment and drink. Not

Simplicity of conditions produces simplicity of character.

From the absence of complexity in the producing forces the Roman character took a simpler form than that of the Greek. It is more easily apprehended, having less variety, greater singleness. As to physical force, the Roman furnishes the most striking example of the ancient world. Only the Assyrian could compete with him in the robustness and muscular strength of his body. In

the primitive ages he took no pains to make himself an athlete, or to give symmetry and agility to his frame by the discipline of training. On the contrary, he neglected all artificial means of physical development, using only the natural means. The natural means was sufficient to make him a soldier, and afterwards a statesman.

There was little that was ornate in the sturdy and iron-muscled man whom we here see appearing on the Tiber hills and the Campanian frontier. The old Roman was debonair in nothing. He cared not to be witty. He was little affected by beauty. He would rather eat than to talk—rather trim a fig tree than write a poem about it. He preferred production and mere business to any decorative processes as it respected himself or his city. We should look in vain among these Roman folk for that sociability and effusiveness which distinguished the Greeks of the same age; and among the latter—moving by quick impulse—we should look in vain for that austerity and masculine force which constituted the predominant elements in the character of the former.

Sternness of primitive Romans; lack of sociability.

CHAPTER LVIII.—SOCIAL ESTATE OF THE ROMANS.

BUT we must now pass from the consideration of these bottom facts in Roman life to examine briefly the social structure of which the man of Latium was the masterpiece. At the first he found himself a member of a womanless society, whose chief business was robbery. If it had not been womanless, the robber characteristic would have been less pronounced. One of the errors against which the student of history must always be on his guard is the giving of the modern meaning to words expressive of the conditions of the primitive world. He must remember that to have been a robber in early Latium was to be a good citizen. In this, as in all things else, the law enters that sin may abound. This is to say that in an age before property rights are recognized and expressed in the forms of law, robbery is merely the taking of the objects of desire, and the act is devoid of that criminal character which condemns it in well developed societies. The beginning of all states is violence. History knows no other origin for the improved condition of mankind than sheer force. At length the rectifying processes of morality set in, and violence gives place to established customs, to law. Old Rome simply struggled out of barbarism by taking from others like herself the resources which were necessary for her sustenance and growth. Of a certainty, the methods were violent; but they were also necessary.

Roman society began in violence and rapacity.

As we have said, the Western surf of mankind, tumbling on distant shores, has always a great preponderance of male-life. We discover this condition in Latium, and legend has preserved the not wholly improbable story of how the deficit of womanhood was first supplied. The *Æneid* furnishes no good picture of the woman of primitive Rome. It is the pictured page of Livy, so far as writings are concerned, from which we may best deduce

Relation of character to preponderance of sex in society.

a true outline of the female character in the primitive age. There is a strange correlation between the domestic morality and the chance preponderance of women and men in human societies; that is to say, of societies in the primal stages of their development. It might be supposed that in tribes where men are largely in excess there would be great violence done to the purer sexual in-

ROMAN TYPE, PRESERVED IN WOMAN OF UFFIZI.
Drawn by Faquier, from an ancient engraving.

stincts; that there would be virtually a reign of force along every frontier where the population is mostly composed of men. The counter supposition would also seem to hold; that is, that in societies where women are largely preponderant in numbers the purer and more delicate instincts of sex would prevail, to the extinction, perhaps, of all infractions of the better laws of life and action between men and women.

Neither of these hypotheses is verified by the facts; but exactly the reverse. It is along the edges of the progressive movements of population, far on the outskirts, that the highest virtues of sex are engendered and maintained. The chivalrous and exalted sentiment of man for woman, which has such an urgent force in the evolution of a pure society, blossoms in full beauty among those rough and stalwart communities that tumble tumultuously on the edges and confines of states.

The frontier with excess of males has highest sentiment.

Even in the New World we have seen this law constantly illustrated with the progress of the White races across the continent. It will, perhaps, be denied that the frontier always expresses the highest opinion of woman. It will be claimed that the chivalrous instincts which the stronger experiences for the weaker creature have been well preserved in the older communities of America. But the denial and the claim may not be allowed. The fact is that in America, as in Europe and everywhere, the adoration of woman has been at its height with the advancing wave. Under the blue shekinah of the cabin smoke in all the Western valleys she has been worshiped; and it is the truth of history that among the rude, boisterous, quarrelsome, and lawless Californians who opened the Sierra gold mines at the middle of the century the name and the recollection of woman were divine. It was so among the hardy and reckless pioneers of primitive Italy; and we may easily discover the reasons why the sexual relation under these circumstances had a strength and permanence which it had never before attained in antiquity.

Illustration of the law in the social conditions of America.

We come, then, to consider those conditions and phenomena in the primitive society of Rome which were based on the relation of the sexes. The preponderance of the domestic life in the Roman race is well known. It is a fact which has been remarked by all writers since the beginning of critical inquiry in

Rude virtues of the primitive society of Rome.

Europe, and it has not ceased to attract the attention and admiration of mankind everywhere. It is now twenty-six and a half centuries since the founding of the city, but the social institutions of the Romans, those institutions which they left on their own decline to the care of literature and the hands of the Catholic Church, and which, by the latter have been disseminated among all Western peoples, still abide with little diminution of strength. It was in Italy that man could first truthfully say, *Ego sum domi*—"I am at *Home*." The fact called Home had its first existence in the country between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian sea. Here it was that the difference between a man's *house* and his *home* was first recognized. The Oriental nations knew it not. Shem had not found it. Ham had not discovered it in Arabia or Africa. The brilliant Greeks had had no more than a glimpse of the possibility. In the earlier ages, as we have seen, the expanding germ of a beautiful private life was set in Hellas; but with the growth of politics and the creation of civil institutions woman lapsed, and the domestic tree withered and died.

ROMAN MARRIED PAIR—TYPES.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

Evolution of home and institution of family.

It may seem strange that in a country whose first great city was founded by the twin sons of Mars and a Vestal virgin—in a country whose first wives were taken by treachery and outrage from a friendly neighboring people—the first actual home known to men should be created; but the fact remains. We have seen in a former book that the house-building and home-making instinct was inherent in all the Aryans. The history of Europe and America is a running commentary on the workings of this instinct; but it was in Italy, in the Roman state, that the sentiment long prevalent in the race first became an objective reality, taking the form of an institution.

The institution was the family. As to the origin and nature of the family a vast deal has been said in exposition and controversy. The fact is that it was created by the Roman race. By that race it was borne north, east, and west to the confines of the existing civilizations. It was planted among the conquered peoples. It was impressed as a fundamental fact upon the Church of Rome. It became, in the hands of that Church, an article of faith and an instrument of propagandism. Before the downfall of the empire it had taken so

deep root in the structure of Europe as to constitute henceforth the bottom fact in civil society, and that relation it has ever since retained.

Semitic peoples not the originators of home ideas.

It has been claimed by many writers that the home principle and the family as its result were given to history by the Semitic nations. The assertion is totally incorrect. The Semites held, in common with the other Orientals, to the Eastern manner. There was not a single branch of the race in which polygamy was not the prevalent system. Aramæans, Elamites, Hebrews, Assyrians, Arabs, all held to the clan or patriarchical form of organization, and the multiple marriage of the man was the dominant custom among them everywhere.

Home and monogamy a culmination of West Aryanism.

With the progress of the Aryan race across Europe from the East the Oriental usage gave way. We are able to discover something of the causes of the new order of things in Greece and Italy. In the latter country the old conditions had been so far left behind as to permit the institution of a new order. That new order was a complete system of domesticity revolving about a home founded on the monogamic relation and resulting in the great fact called the family. In outlining this change from the Eastern to the Western form of society we are again in danger of drawing the sketch with too much exactitude. It must not be understood that sexual lawlessness and license disappeared in Italy, and that a new ideal state arose instead of polygamous marriage and clan organization. It is only meant that a true domestic form, capable of becoming institutional and permanent, here took the place of the ancient Oriental development of society, and that the home, as that word has been understood among the Western nations, first appeared in the country and under the conditions which we are here considering.

The three terraces of the Roman social structure.

The social foundation of the Roman race was a terrace of three platforms. The lowest and broadest of these was the *gens*. What the gens is in ethnography we have already explained in another part. It is a natural phenomenon, and was not by any means peculiar to the structure of the Roman race. On top of the gens was laid the *Familia*, or that division of the gens which embraced the group of kinsmen who bore a common name—that *added* name which we will presently explain. The third stone in the social platform was the *Individual;* and he also was designated by a term; but in this instance the term was peculiar to himself, discriminating him from all other members of the familia. To the lowest platform was given a definitive epithet called the *Nomen* of the gens. The second layer was designated by the *Cognomen*, or family name; while to the third platform, representing the individual, was given the *Prænomen*, or individual name. The gens constituted a part of civil society, but the familia was purely a social phenomenon. It was in the familia that the evolution peculiar to Roman society took place. It was the relations of the familia on the one side to the semipolitical organization of the gens, and on the other to the individual member of society, that constituted the element of unity and strength through the whole structure of Rome.

We are here to consider the familia. First of all, and essentially, it was a family in the identical sense in which that word is used among modern nations.

Source and development of the Roman familia.

The family was the core of the familia. There were very few features in which the Roman family, or central part of the familia, was different from the corresponding fact in all of the nations which have adopted the Roman law as a part of their system of jurisprudence. In process of time the family drew to itself quite a retinue of folks that have no representatives, at least in the democratic countries of modern times. In monarchical and aristocratical societies, as for instance in a country where a peerage exists, we have a dependent retinue associated with a noble family and constituting a phenomenon quite similar to the familia of the Romans.

The family proper; fact and manner of courtship.

For the present this added element, this dependent part, may be omitted that we may consider the Roman family, or household proper, so called. In this monogamy was the law. The bottom principle was single marriage, generally dictated by the affection of the parties.

INTERCOURSE OF THE SEXES.—Scene Between Cæsar and Octavia.

Prudential and political marriages became in course of time common facts in Rome, but they were never the prevalent order. In the times of the republic, could we look down from the somewhat elevated platform of history to so common and universal a fact as courtship between the sexes, we should find it to have been in Rome essentially such a process as to its forms and sentiments

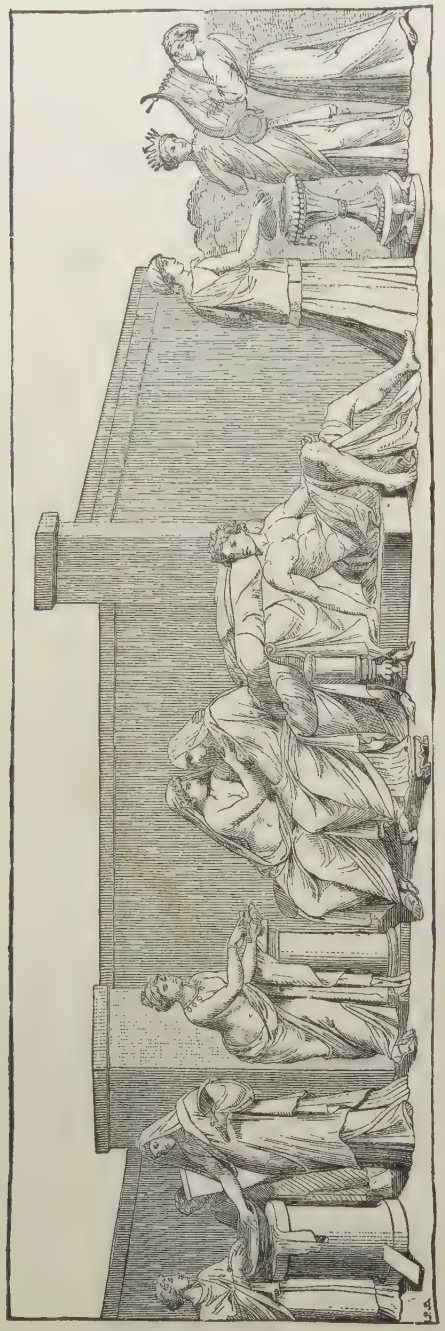
as we behold in the communities of the present day. The young men of Rome and the Roman maidens made love to each other after the manner of rational beings. They sought and won each other's affections, and in a great majority of instances the attachment was sincere and enduring. Perhaps we might look in vain for the refinements of sentiment which have prevailed since chivalry and knighthood gave their impulse to European society; but the Roman courtship was not devoid of sentiment. The schoolboys and girls of the republic wrote significant things to each other in the wax of their tablets, and the answering blush told plainly that the thing said was understood and appreciated.

In Roman society the sexes were, in many respects, on terms of equality, and there was much honorable freedom of intercourse. In one respect the girls were disparaged as compared with their brothers and lovers. That is, they were denied the prænomen, or individual name. They were given the nomen of their gens, and *were then numbered*, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, etc., according to seniority. That is, the daughters of Marcus Antonius would be called Antonia *Prima*, Antonia *Secunda*.

Disparagement of girls in the matter of the prænomen.

ROMAN SOCIETY.—The House Philosopher.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

and so on to the youngest. The sons would be given each a prænomen, or individual name, Marcus, Caius, Sempro-



MARRIAGE.—ALDOBRANDINI WEDDING.—Drawn by P Beckert

nius. Thus much of the ancient discrimination of the East against womankind was preserved even in the state of Rome.

We have remarked upon the freedom of woman from her girlhood as one of the elementary conditions of Roman society. The Roman maiden went freely from her house on visits to her friends, to school, or into the streets if she chose. From the primitive times she was taught the beauty and dignity of sexual honor. Here was the kernel of the whole matter. Here was that bottom fact out of which the domestic and home life of the Roman race grew to so great perfection. The maiden of Rome, and her lover as well, were taught from childhood the sacredness of sex; and owing to the instinctive susceptibility of the race in this regard the lesson struck home and became a part of character.

Roman girls taught to regard virtue as the supreme thing.

The young people of Roman families intermixed with each other, constituting a "society" in almost the modern sense of the term. There were circles of friendship formed on the principal of free selection. Over it all the stern parents retained their prerogatives, but at the same time conceded a large liberty. The opportunity of social intercourse between the sexes was not much abridged by the authority of the father and mother. The young people sought and found each other's company and became acquainted in almost the identical manner of modern times. Courtship was much the same then as in the Europe or America of to-day.

Comparative freedom of the sexes in social intercourse.

The Roman lover and his sweetheart were permitted to walk together in public. It was expected that each would wear the newest and best garments which could be afforded. In public places, as at the circus and the theater, the youth sought the upper seats by preference, from which they might look down upon the scene. Such assemblages furnished many

Rules of gallantry as outlined by Ovid.

opportunities for gallantry. The overwarm Ovid, of a later age, gives some half-humorous but not indelicate directions to the lover as to how he shall advance his cause when he sits by his lady in public. "Take thy seat," says the poet, "beside the fair one, as close to her as thou canst, for which the stretched cord[1] gives thee an excuse; then begin a familiar conversation, for which the play affords an easy opening; applaud whenever she applauds; take care that she is not incommoded by the knees of those who sit behind her; arrange her cushion; take up her mantle if it falls; place the stool under her delicate feet, and fan her if she be too warm." Nothing improper is seen in all this. The little drama is natural enough. It might answer, without modification, for a scene in a Parisian opera house or at a country festival in America.

Rule of early marriages; simplicity of the union.

The period of youth was brief in primitive Rome; particularly brief with the maidens. They were marriageable at the age of twelve, and it was thought that to be single after seventeen was to have been neglected. In so far as the parents of the lovers determined the business of marriage, they generally followed, as we have said, the well-known preferences which the young folk had shown for each other. In the earlier times and among the rustic population the marriage was exceedingly informal. Indeed, there were many conditions under which it had no form at all, the parties simply becoming husband and wife because they would. Out of this natural selection, which was presently recognized as valid by the common law, the institution of marriage took shape, and was afterwards decorated with ceremonies; but it was never painfully smothered under the flummeries of the East. The main fact always stood forth. The union of the parties was the principal thing to which the officialities were subordinated.

HOME MANNERS.—Romans at the Table.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.

When Roman society had become reg-

[1] The "stretched cord" was the only division between one seat and the next in the sitting circles of the public buildings of Rome.

ulated in its methods, the wedding was an occasion of feasting and hilarity. The parents of the bride, according to their abundance, provided supplies of clothing, jewelry, and furniture as their daughter's dowry, and the parents of the bridegroom did even so for him. The two homes of the parties were decorated for the wedding, and the relatives were invited to witness the ceremony. Green boughs were plucked down to adorn the inner walls, and if the house had become ambitious to the extent of columns, they were wreathed with garlands. The ancestral effigies were brought out, as if to look down upon the means this day repeated for the perpetuation of their race. The bride was adorned by the mother. The headdress was according to the old-time custom. The white toga was tastefully folded about the majestic form and a scarlet veil fastened in the hair. The pair to be wedded were led to the altar by a woman called the *pronuba*, whose office it was to conduct the ceremony. A sacrifice was offered, and the wedding was completed with a banquet.

Formalities of the wedding day; the pronuba.

Afterwards the pair were conducted, with music of flutes and the singing of gay songs, to the bridegroom's home, already prepared for their reception. On reaching the door the bride must anoint the lintels at the entrance with perfumed oil. She must also twist woolen fillets around them. And when these little offices are attended to, she must herself be carefully *lifted* over the threshold; for a delicate superstition declares that for her to stumble on entering her home is an evil omen. So she is borne into the house by the attendants.

Bridal procession, and fiction of the new home.

As the Roman state became great and strong; as the society of Rome parted into castes; as the commons became plebeians and the patricians arrogated to themselves the prerogatives and responsibilities of the government, the wedding ceremonies among the latter departed from the simple type and became a somewhat elaborate religious process at which ten witnesses must be present to hear the vows of the parties, to witness the signing of the contract, and to record their personal testimony of the event. It is in evidence that in proportion as the primitive purity of the institution gave place to such formality, the fidelity of the parties became less conspicuous, and in the times of imperial luxury it could no longer be boasted —as it had been in the simple ages of the republic—that for five hundred years Roman society had not been scandalized with a single divorce. Already, however, in the last century of the republican régime the old and tenacious bond had been dissolved into laxity, and both Cato and Cicero repudiated their wives and took others on the score of personal advantage.

Deterioration of the marriage estate under the empire.

Among the patricians the demoralization went steadily on until the old landmarks were totally obliterated and license and caprice set in. Still, the monogamic principle held sway, and in the midst of innumerable marriages, repudiations, and divorces, the *principle* of single marriage was maintained in its integrity. Disgrace came in like a flood upon the domestic life of the Roman people, and that which had been the simplest and purest society ever thus far developed among men grew into a society of almost absolute license. We speak here of the sanctity and purity of the marriage estate. This at length came to be broken with impunity. Men

Divorce made easy by corruption of Roman society.

put away their wives at will, for all reasons and no reason at all. Hardly a whim was needed to excuse the perpetually recurring separations of husband and wife. Every caprice of fancy, every suggestion of interest came in as a selfish justification for the breaking of the marriage relation. In the early years of the empire the tie of husband and wife was so easily snapped that even a woman might break it when she would. A case is recorded in which one lady had eight husbands, all legally enough, within a period of five years. Another continued her separations until her list of husbands had reached *twenty-three*, and it was found that the last of the list had himself had twenty-one legal wives! No more forcible comment could be offered upon the civil and political condition of the Roman state than the citation of this shocking falling away of the institution of marriage under the empire.

PATRICIAN DOMESTIC LIFE.—Toilet of a Roman Lady of Rank.—Drawn by A. de Courten.

In one respect the old law and principle of the Orient continued to prevail among the Romans. The wife in the earliest epochs was completely subject to the husband. This is said especially of the marriage relation among the pa-

tricians. A patrician's wife was virtually his property. He had unlimited power over her, extending even to the *jus vitæ necisque*—the right of life and death. This was the ancient theory of formal patrician marriage. In process of time, under the wholesome sentiments of the Latin race—we speak of the Old Latins—the principle was abandoned, at least in practice, and the Roman matron gained a legal recognition of her rights. She was conceded at first the right of property and afterwards the right of her person in exemption from her husband's control. She obtained the right to inherit from her parents and to hold her goods apart from her husband's. The marriage portion which came with her was her husband's, always and absolutely.

Rights of the married women of Rome.

In the later age of the republic this emancipation of woman had gone on so far that a reäction set in, and a strenuous effort was made, even under the leadership of Cato, to force the women of Rome back again under the authority of their husbands. Cato, as a politician, had yet to learn that primal law of history, that in the evolution of mankind, men, institutions, social phenomena, *never go back into their old condition*. As well might the effort be made to compel a watch—if such thing is thinkable—to run backwards and to record an inverted calendar of the hours as to attempt to reverse the forward movements of the human race.

Effort of later republicans to restore the former estate.

VIRTUES OF THE ROMAN WOMAN.—Virginia in the Forum.

Under the social condition above described, woman in the early ages of Rome took on a character for modesty and virtue without a parallel in any other primitive race. We need not accept as true the inspiring traditions which the Romans themselves have preserved of

Heroic character of the primitive Roman women.

the heroism of their wives and daughters in the early ages; that is, we need not believe that such examples of unsullied beauty and virtue were actually witnessed in the primitive days in Latium; but we must accept the sentiments expressed in the traditions, and the sentiments are as good as the facts. No ancient story-teller or bard invents a fiction which is absurd in the estimation of those to whom he recites it. On the contrary, the primitive legend or poem is a transcript of the things accepted and admired as true. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the heroism and beauty and spotless deaths of Virginia and Lucretia were real. It may be that the actual villainy of the Tarquin and Appius Claudius was drawn for the occasion; but the ideals exist. The ideals at least were real. They were in the Roman race as a part of its constitution. The ideals were applauded as the noblest and purest expressions of primitive womanhood. We know thus much in any event, that such women as Virginia, who was slain by her father, and Lucretia, who took her own life to save her honor, were possible in that ancient society—not only possible, but probable; for the Romans believed in them, fought for them, poured out their blood for them like water, worshiped their memory.

Derivation of the high character of maid and matron.

The student of history will be perplexed to know from what source such high and beautiful types of female character could be deduced in an age so boisterous and rough close on the confines of the prehistoric days. He must remember this—a thing already explained above—that Greek civilization had permeated Southern Italy; that beautiful cities and polite arts were known in all the country south of Latium and around on the western coast of Campania long before the times of which we are speaking. He must remember that the culture and learning of the Greeks had penetrated Latium, that the Greeks had become already the schoolmasters of the Latini and afterwards of the Romans; that the Latin towns accepted this foreign intellectual fact, and that even in the countryside schools were instituted at an early age. The women of primitive Rome received nearly the same instruction as did their husbands and brothers; and this form of culture in the school and the home blended with the robust virtue—we speak now of domestic virtue—tending to form those beautiful types of womanhood which we discover in the remote horizon of ancient Rome

The women of Rome called forth by civil dangers.

It should be remarked respecting the Roman women that their occasional appearance in primitive history is nearly always in connection with some crisis in the state. The woman shared with the man that intense patriotism of which we have spoken above. She was keenly alive to the vicissitudes of her country; for the destinies of her home and her family were involved with the fate of her country. So in times of emergency the highest spirits would come forth for the inspiration of the helmeted warriors who stood between Rome and her foes. Nearly every apparition of the Roman woman in the early ages is under some such circumstance of distress, and one need only open Livy to note the salvation which she nearly always brought.

Salutary influence of the women in controlling violence.

There is a sense in which the woman was the guardian angel of the ancient state. Even in the case of the struggle of the Romans and Sabines, the one for the retention and the other for the recovery of the stolen virgins, the latter become the mediators and peacemakers between

the contending tribes. The mother of Coriolanus saves the city and loses her son. If Tarpeia proves recreant to the faith and honor of her country, she receives the merited punishment, is crushed under the weight of the Sabine shields, and her memory made infamous by the giving of her name to the Traitors' Rock. Sometimes we see the struggle between patriotism and love in the breast of woman. The three Horatii go forth to save their country. Two of them are slain, and the third returns victorious. His sister, Horatia, upbraids him for having killed her lover, one of the Curiatii. It is more than he can stand. Had he not defended his country? and should mere human love, his sister's whim, stand between him and his duty to native land? *Her* reasoning extends only thus far: Curiatius was my lover, honorable and true. My wicked brother has gone forth beyond the Tiber and killed my lover. I hate him for this hateful deed. We can see the inevitable result: Horatius, hot from his fight with his enemy, slays his sister on the spot.

SPIRIT OF THE ROMANS.—DEATH OF CORIOLANUS.

And the sequel still further illustrates the condition of that old society. Horatius is brought to trial for his rash deed and is condemned to death. So says the sober judgment of the senate and the court. But he has the right of an appeal to the people. He makes the appeal and

How Horatius is both condemned and acquitted.

is exculpated. For the father, the old Horatius, appears on the scene and declares that if his son had not slain his sister for her weakness and perfidy he would have done it himself! Mark well that half-savage society. It is still violent from its recent emergence. Indeed, it will never be other than violent, even at its best estate. But it has in it could not do other than love her country. Her oldest son goes forth to espouse the cause of the suffering common people and loses his life. She gives him up as a sacrifice. Then the other goes forth, greater and stronger and more prudent than the elder; but she knows well that his life is imperiled in the cause. Shall she command him, exhort him, to desist?

MONUMENT TO THE HORATII AND THE CURIATII.

such strength and virtues as we should hardly find elsewhere in the ancient world.

A struggle like that in the breast of Horatia—the conflict between that fidelity which would save and that patriotism which must destroy the household idols—is present many times in the later womanhood of the republic. Cornelia is the daughter of Scipio Africanus. She Shall she lose her all and be left to irremediable widowhood, she, the daughter of Scipio? This is her letter to her last son. In it we discover the terrible conflict in the mother's heart: "Is there to be no end of the madness in our house? What is the limit to be? Have we not cause enough for shame that we have plunged the state into confusion? To me nothing seems nobler and fairer than to take vengeance on an enemy when

Examples of heroic devotion among Roman women.

this can be done without bringing ruin on our own country. But when this can not be, then far better that our enemies triumph than that our country suffer."

Natural grief for the decadence of Roman society.

If we could rightly grieve over the movements of history, if we could feel rational sorrow over that great scheme of human affairs in accordance with which the drama of this world has been so tragically enacted, if it were right reason to wish that the affairs of men and nations in times past had been other than they were, then, indeed, we might be pained—feel anguish even to tears—over the decadence of human society in the last century of the Roman republic and the first century of the empire. Rome had passed through the stages of freedom and glory, and had come to the stage of luxury and license and animality. As we have hinted above, the transformation which we here contemplate was essentially social. The political and civil and historical falling away of the Roman state followed hard upon the falling away of those ancient robust virtues from which the renown and strength of the race had been derived.

Woman carried down by the tide of political depravity.

Having the nature of a social change, the domestic part of Roman life felt first the pang of transformation. This is to say that the beginning of the fall, the germ of it, was very near the life of woman. Her character as the conservator of virtue and mother of patriotism lapsed. As a rule, the Roman woman was borne along on the tide of the political changes which had set in in the later republic. The stream flowed from the Erie of broad and placid republicanism to the Ontario of imperialism; and the course was by way of the rapids and the cataract

The last great women of Rome strive to save the State.

With the approach of the Cæsarian revolution the domestic integrity of the Roman people gave completely away. It should be noted with admiration that for a considerable period the great women of the last days before the catastrophe were an impediment in the course of ruin. Julia was the sister of Cæsar and the wife of Pompey. She was a mediator between them, and while she lived the two rivals for the dominion of the world could hardly use their swords across her majestic body. Her influence was the cement of the first triumvirate, just as Octavia, sister of Augustus, was presently destined to hold together that second three whose break-up marked the ascendency of the one—the Cæsar. For Octavia was the wife of Antony, and until she was cast off by that reckless reveler she was able, by holding the hands of her husband and her brother, to keep the precarious peace. After this we catch a glimpse of certain republican women who, like their husbands and political friends, would fain have stayed

MARCUS BRUTUS.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

the course of history and prevented the inevitable. Such was Junia, sister of Marcus Brutus, slayer of Great Julius. Such was Arria, wife of Cæcina Pætus, and such was Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus—both of whom in the times of Claudius and Nero sought to rekindle the republican fires in the cold ashes of Old Rome.

It may well surprise us to note the conspicuous figure of woman moving among the shadows of the imperial revolution. We have just seen how Julia and Octavia were almost as important in the drama as were their husbands and brothers. Across the Mediterranean, and far to the east, rose another strange and powerful female figure in that last and greatest of the Greek queens of Egypt—Cleopatra. Her character partook of the times. She was not worse than many women in Rome—only abler and more skillful and cunning in that reckless and lascivious fence at which the Roman generals were playing for the mastery of the Mediterranean kingdoms. Three of the most distinguished Romans of that remarkable age fell under her influence. It was to her that Pompeius fled after Pharsalia; but assassination stood between. Julius came and saw and was conquered; but he broke out of the snare, not because he was not ensnared, but because ambition was the dominant passion, and he must away or lose. Not so Marcus Antonius, who but for that dusky image of the Nile might have been the Cæsar of the future instead of Octavianus. The latter also came, but he was a cold, calculating, apathetic soul over whom beauty had no power and passion no advantage. He went away

Cleopatra as a type of the imperial women.

CLEOPATRA AND THE DEATH OF ANTONIUS.—Drawn by Alexandre Cabanel.

as indifferent as when he came, choosing the world instead of the woman.

The family of Augustus typical of the age.

If we would note the true condition of the principal society of Rome in the days of the incipient empire, we need only look at the family of this cold and calculating Augustus. He first divorced his wife Scribonia, and then took Livia, consort of Claudius Nero, for his wife. This heartless intellectual effigy of womanhood was the match of him who gained her. Her whole career as empress of Rome was a treasonable intrigue to secure the succession of her own son by her first marriage as against any and all the members of the Augustan House. She it was who induced Octavianus to drive his daughter Julia into exile, though the causes in her conduct for banishment were sufficiently aggravating. The empress succeeded in ridding the household of all competitors, and compelled the emperor in his old age to acknowledge Tiberius as his successor.

Height and depth of the development of the Romans.

Desperate was the condition into which Roman society now fell. Human nature is capable of development both upward and downward from the common level. The same nature is susceptible of this altitude and depth from the natural horizon on which he was fixed at birth. In its application this principle leads to astonishing results. The character which was most intense as an example of a given virtue becomes most intense as an example of the opposite vice. In material chemistry it requires but a slight change and recomposition of the elements to convert the most bland and innocent substances into the rankest poisons of the laboratory. The presence of a great vice or a great virtue in human character generally implies the possibility of the opposite extreme in the same person or the same people. The fact that primitive Rome—republican Rome, Rome in the scale ascending from the barbaric state of the Latin ancestry to the height of victory and power—was the best exponent in all ancient history of the home virtues, the best exemplar of domestic fidelity and of a sound social state based upon the relations of man and woman, is strangely enough the index and possibility of exactly the opposite in the future career of the same race. As high as the Roman character in the earlier ages rose above the level in respect to domesticity and social purity, by so much did social Rome, after the reäction from glory and luxury had set in, plunge downward into the abyss of infamy. The depth to which she descended was as profound as the height to which she had raised herself was sublime.

Obliteration of the social and domestic virtues.

No description may fairly picture to the understanding of modern times the nature and extent of the social degradation under the imperial régime. No page in ancient history is more gloomy and polluted, more saddening to human hope, more spectral with its tinges of blood and its shadows of horror than is that which contains the story of the social life of the Romans under the Cæsars and their successors. It was, so far as the private life of man was concerned, a dark and revolting epoch, in which there was sensuality without refinement, lust without relief, and violence without daring. Even the old-time courage of the race fell away from the manly contest, the sharp slaying of the sword, to the ignominious feuds of night and the stealthy stab of the dagger. The virtue of the Roman woman became a bauble. The very name of it was a mock on the lips of ad-

venturesses and courtesans. Nothing but the tremendous framework of that gilded imperial system was able to maintain above such a mass of crime the semblance of social grandeur and political power.

Turning from Roman high life, from the life of the Cæsarean court, from the recesses of the palace and the marble halls of villas, to the outdoor life, the common life, the country life of the Romans, we might hope to find the maintenance of the old-time virtues, but our hopes are disappointed. The disease was general. One may easily perceive that the poets and historians of the empire had lost all faith

Common people share the decline and corruption of the race.

EMPEROR TIBERIUS.—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

in the integrity of man, and especially in the virtue of woman. Ovid does not hesitate to declare that every Roman woman had her price. This was not true. It was a poetical sarcasm. There were still faithful wives and virtuous sisters and sweethearts who kept themselves unspotted in the times of imperial corruption and gaudy vice. But the general tide set the other way. Even the country home was poisoned. Marriages were contracted and dissolved at the will of the parties; and the efforts of an effete senate by means of law to counteract the evil were made the subject of ridicule.

The early marriage of the primitive Romans was now postponed till late in life, and even to this celibacy came in as a professional method of indulgence without the responsibility of the family. If we may trust the chronicles of the times, it came to pass that the Roman women, descendants, as they were, of those ancient matrons whose name and virtues have become memorable in all lands and languages, spent their time in planning and acting abominable intrigues, the repetition of which would be offensive to the ears of modern times. Above it all was that thin veneer of hypocrisy which human society in its epochs of decadence and disgrace is prone to cover itself withal, as if unwilling to recognize and acknowledge its own depraved practices and degenerate features.

Postponement of marriage indicative of depravity.

To heighten the evil conditions which we are here depicting, the freedom of the life of the woman of Rome came in as a concomitant circumstance. She had never been a creature of restraint. In the days of her supreme virtue—those ancient days when the fame of the race was achieved—she had been a law unto herself, an example to the world, because she chose to be. As we have said, the Roman women went freely abroad to all public places. They shared with the men in festivals and banquets. They went upon the promenade and were borne in their palanquins by slaves through places of fashion. They sat in the open porticoes of villas and addressed their friends in the passing crowds. They went to the circus and theater, and

Freedom of Roman women continued to the downfall.

at length behaved in the great crowds assembled there with the recklessness and abandonment of men of the world. The women shared with men the almost insane passion of the Romans for public spectacles, especially the excitements of the combats and the struggles of the arena.

We may perceive the gradual hardening of the woman-soul under these influences. It is in evidence that the Roman ladies of the licentious era were as much exhilarated at the sight of the life-and-death struggles in the amphitheater as were the men themselves. They applauded and cheered and wagered their money on the gladiatorial combats and races with utter recklessness and abandonment. From the perverted gratification of their pride and passion they turned at length to popular admiration as a source of pleasure. They sought to draw to them a miscellaneous crowd of admirers who might follow them from place to place with that insane devotion which such conditions are likely to evoke.

The soul of woman turns to pride and the circus.

The prime lady of the hour fled from the circus to the watering places on the coast only to be followed by her throng of suitors. Not that she cared to accept, not that she cared to deny, but merely to be admired and flattered. All the male *dilettanti* of Rome followed in the wake of the accomplished and crafty women who led them thither and yon as though they were their suites. It would appear that not many of even the alleged statesmen and philosophers and soldiers of the day were free from the common insanity and its consequences. Only now and then, and under peculiar circumstances, did a flash of the old virtuous light shine out of the heavy shadows of dissoluteness and depravity.

The suitors follow vanity to the watering places.

It is said that in the time of the Antonines a peculiar insanity took possession of the women of Rome to introduce into their homes what was known as a house philosopher.[1] He was a salaried person, whose business it was to teach the domina in the matter of abstractions, and, if possible, to supervise her principles and conduct by a sort of authority of right reason. At this time the coarse-brained Romans had undertaken the study of Greek philosophy. Of course the refinements of those abstruse and wonderful systems of thought which the Greek mind had evolved were too much for the understanding and application of the Roman race; but they essayed the task and talked philosophy after the manner of men.

Advent of the house philosopher, his offices

It was the vanity of the times, and the women became infected with the popular vice. The house philosopher had the freedom of the Roman home, and took what license he would in the way of lecturing the self-willed and reckless beauties of the establishment. Primarily, his business was to teach them philosophy; but he must also answer the summons to read to the mistress from what manuscript soever she might call for, and also to assist her in composing and sending out her epistolary effusions to her friends, her relatives, her suitors. It was his function to supply her with a certain modicum of intelligence and learning which were requisite as a part of her equipment in the flashy and abandoned society of the day. To this end, he was much in the company of the domina. He must attend her when she went abroad in the city. If she journeyed down to Baiæ, he must have his place with the servants and care for the

[1] See page *ante* 257.

ROMAN BANQUET.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

paraphernalia of the mistress. Apart from his intellectual superiority and the necessity of his office to the lady in her social drama, the house philosopher was only a species of foil for her humors and caprices.

It is in evidence, however—such is the variety of human nature—that many Roman women of the period actually sought rest for their disturbed spirits in the philosophy which had become the fashion of the day. They sought to think, to occupy their time, and, perhaps, to still their disquieted consciences with contemplation of the subtleties and mysteries of an intellectual system. It may not be believed that the Roman ladies, any more than their husbands, were able to grasp the profound things of the Greek philosophy; but they occupied their time with it for a season, and found some relief from the wasting follies and vices of the time.

The better women seek repose in philosophy

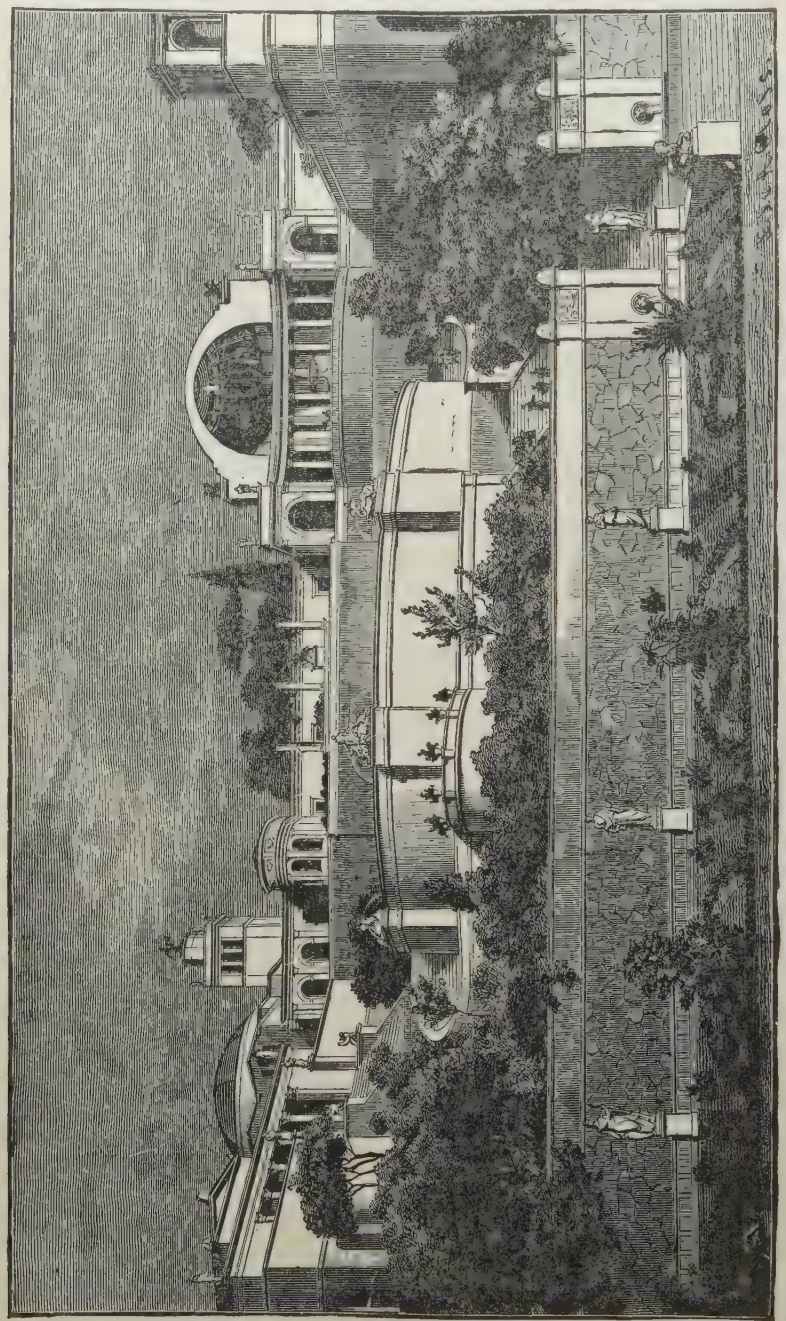
It was at this juncture that the Roman mind began to reach out for some new religious doctrines to take the place of the old. The latter were now virtually abandoned. The restraints under which the Romans had been placed in the early centuries of the republic by the sanctities and injunctions of their religion had now relaxed. In common with the other mockeries, the mockery of the old religion had risen from the deep and sat grinning in the circus, at the carousal, and in the portico of the villa. In fact, ancient Rome had passed away—all but the race whose vigor seemed to survive the destruction of institutions and the transformation of all

Roman mind would find refuge in Syrian religions.

WATERING PLACES OF THE ROMANS.—Bay of Baiæ, with Ruins of Old Villas.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer

ROMAN CAROUSAL.—Drawn by C. Gherta

social forms. The conquests of the Romans had now made them familiar with the religious systems of the East. Asiatics had come to Rome, some in captivity, others by adventure, and had diffused a knowledge of the degenerate forms of Syrian Semitism. Baäl and Astarte were known in the Capitol. Isis and Osiris were fashionable on the Aventine. Aye, more; Moloch and Priapus were heard of in the temples of Jupiter and Minerva. With this knowledge, too, much of the revolting ceremonial of the East had come along. Rome caught at the infection as an inebriate might clutch at the fiery bowl.



VILLA OF HADRIAN ON THE TIBER, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

We may not know to what extent in the break and fall of the old religion—in the ruins of that mythological system which the Romans had accepted as true, and by which their religious instincts had been directed—the new sorcery of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor pervaded the society of the empire; but it was certainly introduced and cultivated. It became one of those ever varying insanities which played in the kaleidoscope of imperial Rome, changing color and form with the passing epoch. The Roman women were more led off by the mysticism of these foreign religions, by what they promised to do for their blinded and groping inner nature, than were

the men of Rome, dulled as they were by dissipation and rendered indifferent by the hazards of perpetual insurrection and the perils of foreign war. It was a part of that general fact, the greater susceptibility of woman than of man to religious innovations and propagandism.

Woman leads in the acceptance of Eastern mysteries.

Being woman, it was impossible that her better nature should not in certain individual cases and under peculiar circumstances revolt against the license, the ruin, and debauchery of the social system prevalent around; and in such times of reäction the woman-soul tried to satisfy itself with the mysteries and novelties, even the obscurities and immoralities, of the Eastern religions which had been imported into the country. Then it was that corrupt priests and priestesses out of Egypt and Syria came to Rome and plied their calling. Then it was that strange altars, with stranger fires upon them, were lighted in the Eternal City. Then it was that orgies, to which the Aryan race had hitherto been fortunately a stranger, were enacted in the darkness of the Roman night, in which the jaded imperial spirits of Rome—men and women—sought to drown themselves into oblivion of the horrors that were the order of the day.

SLAVES CARRYING THEIR MASTER IN THE GARDEN.—Drawn by P. Ritter.

We may well be surprised to note the fact that in the midst of this ruin of the

old estate of Rome, the *forms* of society and of social intercourse were measurably preserved. It is but another illustration of the persistency, the immutability, of custom. If we glance, for instance, at the manners of the household, their forms of address and salutation and courtesy, the terms employed in domestic intercourse, and what may in general be called the habits of the family, we shall find that the same had not been much changed since their establishment in the republican epoch. One may read the familiar letters of Cicero and of other writers of the century in which he flourished, or of the first century of the empire, and will find the same forms employed as of old. The Romans recognized all the family relations in their address. The father said, *Mi fili*, "my son," in addressing him. Sometimes he used the prænomen, saying, *Mi Marce*, *Mi Scribonie*. More frequently the gens name was used, "My Julius," "My Tullius," "My Cornelius," etc. The same method was extended in addressing the daughters and the other descendants and kinsmen of the family. In reverse order, the sons and daughters addressed the parents, recognizing their relation of fatherhood and motherhood. Nearly always in later writing the term *carus*, or "dear," was added, much after the manner of modern times. It is not needed to elaborate these hints of family intercourse and courtesy. The style was maintained through the age of imperial corruption, and it was well-nigh the only plank of the great ship of the past which was preserved and clung to in that boisterous, bloody sea.

Depraved society retains the old forms of intercourse.

We have spoken above of the symptoms of reäction which occasionally appeared in the age of imperial license. Further on these symptoms became more pronounced. About the middle of the second century there was an actual reform instituted—a social reform—in which not indeed the pristine condition of Roman society, but much of its essence and virtue, were recovered from the wrecks with which the world had been distressed under the Cæsarean régime. We speak here of the age of the Antonines. Marcus Aurelius sought diligently to reïnstitute the virtues of the Roman race. In doing so he was but the exponent of his times. Men rarely hold other than exponential relations to the age in which they live. As the condition is, so is the ruler. He does not make it; he finds it. Perhaps he modifies it; for the agency of the individual man, especially the man in power, is able to accomplish thus much—nothing more.

Favorable reäction in the age of the Antonines.

If we look into the literature of the Aurelian period we shall find the infusion of sentiments which would have excited ridicule and scorn in the preceding century. It is evident that the purer form of social and family life had been recovered, and that it was practiced, cultivated, praised. Terms of tenderness, of conjugal fidelity, of praiseful regard for virtue, of hopeful aspirations for a nobler personal life, are abundant in the correspondence and dramatic literature of the age. Nor have there been wanting many writers who have assigned this partial restoration and recovery of Roman virtue to the influence of the Christian teachers, who had now become common and influential in the Roman state. It is said that this influence again found its first vantage and fulcrum in the Roman woman, through whose sensitiveness to religious teachings the new faith worked

Literature of the Aurelian period indicates reform.

its way up from the lower classes among whom it was first disseminated, till it finally reached the palace and the throne.

Another aspect of Roman society peculiar to the times of imperial splendor was its attempt to satisfy itself with things Grecian. This is said more particularly of the Greek language, which was imported into Italy and became the fashion of the day. It was at first cultivated by the upper classes of Romans, senators, and men of the patrician rank. These learned Greek in order to acquaint themselves with the history, the institutions, and especially with the statesmanship of Hellas. It became customary for the leading Romans to send their sons into Greece to complete their education. The thing done was after the manner of modern times. The young man of one country is sent to the university of another land whose learning is reckoned more varied and profound than the culture of the home country. It came to pass at length that the education of a young patrician was disparaged at Rome unless he had had the Grecian finish. Corinth and Athens were the principal seats which were visited by the Roman youth of the upper classes in their search for the intellectual refinements which they could not procure at Rome. All this led, in course of time, to the large interfusion of Greek culture in Italy.

Later Romans seek satisfaction in Greek culture.

At the first, the vulgar Roman conquerors of the second century B. C. brought home the learned Greeks as captives and commanded the service of their intellects much as they might have employed a foreign steed which they had purchased in Cappadocia. At a later time, after the hardships of conquest ceased to be felt so keenly in Greece, scholars and philosophers of that land came of their own accord into Rome, and were much sought for their learning and didactic abilities. As we have said, the republican senators and patricians of the old order availed themselves of these circumstances to learn Greek and to become imbued so far as practicable with the philosophical speculations of the Greek race.

Affectation of Greek extends to all classes.

ROMAN SCHOOLGIRLS—TYPES.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

At length this fashion fell to the women. Roman ladies began to study Greek and to make it a pastime. It was the proper thing for a patrician's daughter to be able to address her lover in Greek, and to say to him the polite little nothings of courtship in that refined tongue of multiform inflections and

light-winged particles. Those ladies who could not master the language as a whole did so in part. They obtained at length a smattering of Greek, and became capable of mispronouncing Greek phrases and of interlarding their conversation with Hellenic tidbits which they perhaps did not understand. It was the fashionable and ignorant woman of an American city talking adulterated and fragmentary French to a company of fops and dandies.

It is not our purpose in this connection to trace the course of Roman society downward through the ages of decline to its final plunge into barbarism, or to note the tedious processes by which the social forms of the Goths and those of Roman Italy were intermingled in the production of that mediæval society which feudalism inherited and ultimately sent to the Crusades. The careful reader, however, will have discovered in this sketch, taken as a whole, the elements of that dangerous and wicked condition peculiar to the institutions of Italy in the Middle Ages. Roman society, properly so called, drew itself into the towns with the approach of the barbarians. There a strenuous effort was made to preserve the old urban activities of the race. It was a long time after all the country parts had fallen under the dominion of the Gothic invaders before the cities yielded to the impact and the northern tides rushed in.

Transformation of society into mediæval type.

The amalgamation then ensued out of which the mediæval Italian character issued. The society which sprang up at length was very different from that of the Teutonic conquerors of Italy and also very different from that of Rome; but on the whole there were more of the ancient Roman features preserved in the new order of things than there were Teutonic features imposed upon it. It is not impossible to discover even at the present day among the Italians an occasional glimpse of the majestic form and countenance, the haughty manner, the imperious will, and even the audacity in action peculiar to the great ancestors of the race, the men and women of the republic and the empire.

Mediæval Italians more Roman than Teutonic.

CHAPTER LIX.—CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

IN the foregoing sketch of the social life of the Romans, we have thus far kept close to the sexual relation as the foundation of those phenomena which we have delineated. We have looked at the strictly domestic and family life of the people, in those aspects of the same which were peculiar to the Romans. Alongside of the evolution which we have thus traced from the germinal state to the expansion and decay of the social tree, many other forms of development were coïncident. We have not thus far said anything, except in passing, of the Roman schools and other means of mental and physical discipline. There was never a time in the history of the race when the Romans felt that insatiable intellectual hunger which impelled the Greeks to activity. The Roman

The intellectual life grew with the growth of social forms.

mind was heavy, colossal, dull. Indeed, it would be hard in the whole domain of ancient history to select two facts more strongly contrasted than the intellect of the Greek and that of the Roman. Nev-

WRITING IMPLEMENTS.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

ertheless, there was a certain measure of mind-power displayed by the man of the West.

We should look in vain in Rome for those gymnasia and other schools of enlarged and rational training which belonged to even the earlier periods of the Greek career. But in course of time the Romans sought the school as a means of bringing their sons to citizenship and their daughters to the estate of matrons. There were old Roman schoolmasters who gathered the children of certain families and taught them as a means of livelihood. They were not a respected class of citizens. The references to them in earlier Latin literature are generally sarcastic. There are hints that the primitive pedagogy was the *dernier* resort of eccentric and impractical spirits who were incapable of living by any other means.

The Romans seek to create a system of schools.

In the first centuries of the republic there was no system of schools. Private enterprise was left to supply what the public had neglected. In many instances the school was conducted in the family. Perhaps the children of adjacent households were drawn in by the master and taught with those of his patron. When the private house was not sufficient to accommodate the band of youth thus gathered, the pedagogue sought an open roof or some colonnade near by, and there delivered his instructions. There also he administered his punishments, which were as frequent and severe as the spirit of the austere age in which he lived. The bastinado was freely laid on the naked backs of all offenders, and the power of the rude master was next to that of the *paterfamilias*.

School began with family; powers of the pedagogue.

Sometimes these private schools were conducted in the open streets, in little recesses and squares which the exigency of building had produced. Never in old Rome were there any reputable buildings specially devoted to education. Nothing like an enlarged gymnasium,

No school buildings; sexes educated together.

SCENE IN ROMAN SCHOOL—THE BASTINADO.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

college, or university was thought of in those ages of war and physical conflict. As we have said, the sexes were intermingled in the schools, and there was

little distinction either in the curriculum or the discipline based on the fact of sex. It may be said that up to the time of the contact of advancing Rome with the Greeks, and until the culture of the latter began to be absorbed, either from Magna Græcia or from the home country itself, no such thing as higher culture was known among the Romans.

SENECA.
From Visconti's *Iconographic Romaine.*

It came to pass, however, as we have seen above, that the Greek was imported to supply the want of intellectual acumen in the West. He came as a pedagogue. Perhaps he was also a slave. But his abilities were soon recognized, and he became thenceforth, even to the downfall of the empire, a necessity to the culture of Italy. There thus arose two classes of teachers in Rome. The first class was composed of those rustic empirics whose rude methods had instilled into the primitive Roman youth whatever they knew of letters and numbers. The second class was made up of the imported element, who were really men of ability and learning. These soon gained a great reputation at the expense of the former class. The common teachers were despised and treated as menials; but the Greek instructors and lecturers of the imperial age were many times held in the highest esteem.

Greek teachers succeed the rustic pedagogues.

In this age distinguished Romans had themselves acquired, doubtless in the first place by the aid of Greek instruction, the discipline and knowledge and methods of Hellas, and applied them as professional pedagogues might do in their own country. Many names of illustrious Romans belonged by profession to this class of teachers. Verrius Flaccus taught the grandchildren of Augustus, and received for his services a great salary. He was able to dictate to the emperor that his instruction should not be limited to the Augustan princes, but be extended to his whole

Roman professors also are known to history.

body of pupils alike, the princes included with the rest. Seneca was the tutor of Nero. Quintilian taught the nephews of Domitian, and Apollonius was the instructor of Marcus Aurelius. All these names have honorable places in the intellectual history of Rome.

In the Roman primary schools were taught reading and writing. It was expected that every youth, boy or girl, should learn thus much of letters. Next came grammar. The Romans at large were never a nice people in the matter of accurate speaking. The scribblings of the young folk on the walls and porches of their houses have left many evidences of the reckless grammar which they employed. Nor is it likely that the old teachers themselves were wiser than their kind in the science of language. With grammar the student entered the higher learning. Now he fell under the instruction of some Greek master or his assistant, and was taught rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and finally philosophy—whatever that word may mean.

The primary curriculum; wreckage on the grammar reef.

Of all these branches, the Roman mind took to rhetoric most kindly. The rhetoricians were in great vogue in the city, and to be able to speak rhetorically was a high achievement in the estimation of the forum. Here we may see again the great difference in the acuteness and good taste of the Greek mind as compared with the noisy exuberance of the Roman. It is undoubtedly true that in all the nations of modern times which have taken the bottom principles of their jurisprudence from the Roman law, and from the mediæval schoolmen the beginnings of an educational system, the bombast and fury and effulgence of public speakings and writings bear witness to the Latin origin of such phenomena.

Popularity and resulting influences of rhetoric.

Oratory may be said to have been a part of the Roman system of public affairs. It was the only branch of education for which any provision was made by the state. In the last century of the republic and under the empire there was a statute for instruction in Greek and Roman oratory. There was always special stress laid upon the elocutionary art; and so far as the management of the voice is concerned, it may be conceded that the Romans excelled most other peoples. The construction and management of the periods was carefully attended to, and for this business, as we shall hereafter see, the Latin language offered special encouragement.

Importance attached to elocution and oratory.

Besides oratory proper, the young patricians were drilled in the classics. This branch included a study of Greek and Roman authors, particularly the poets. The works of the latter were critically read under the ear of men who were certainly prepared to judge of the merits of such productions in an age when their beauties had not as yet been obscured by lapse of centuries and the interposition of strange tongues babbling on foreign shores.

Studies of young patricians; Greek language cultivated.

It was the wont of young men who were expected to engage in public life, as all young patricians might be supposed to do, to commit largely from the poets and orators; and the public speech of the senate house and the forum was always largely interlarded with quotations and applications of the writings and orations of the masters. If the young man was ambitious to excel, as many were, he learned to speak Greek with facility and doubtless with some approach to vernacular purity. From

SENATORS ENTERING THE HALL.

the rostra and in the discussions of the senate house many passages and even whole orations were delivered in Greek, and were sufficiently understood to meet the requirements of effective argument. The language of the cynical Casca throws a beam of light on the usages of the last days of the republic:

Brutus.—"And after that he came, thus sad, away?"

Casca.—"Aye."

Cassius.—"Did Cicero say anything?"

Casca.—"Aye, *he spoke Greek.*"

Cassius.—"To what effect?"

Casca.—"Nay, an I tell you that, I'll ne'er look you i' the face again: But those that understood him smiled at one another, and shook their heads; but, for mine own part, it was Greek to me."

We have remarked above upon the intimate interknitting of society, properly so called, with the civil and political structure of Rome. Still following this clue, we come now to note a few of what may be called the general social aspects of the Roman people. Straining our vision till we discover the moving figures of the dawn, we observe at the very first a division of the Romans into two great social classes. These were the patricians and the plebeians, the privileged order and the common people. For centuries together the relations of these two bodies constituted the subject-matter of civil history in the state. At the very first the patricians were the whole populus Romanus. It is an instance of what is known as the nobility of priority. The nobility of wealth and the nobility of office are social phenomena of a later date.

Division of the Roman people into patricians and plebians.

Among all ancient peoples the claim to rank was instituted on the ground of priority. "We were here before you were; this land was ours before your coming," was the form of the assumption expressed in language. This is the first method which men adopted of asserting a political legitimacy as against the doctrine of violence, which they are all anxious to disclaim. Even barbaric tribes are not willing to admit that their rights in a certain locality where they have fixed themselves are based upon violent occupation. Yet it is true that their rights—even as the rights of all—have such origin, and no other.

Ancient claim of rank on ground of priority.

The first attempt to avoid the open defense of such a claim is to assert priority. The populus Romanus claimed to be the true Roman folk whose fathers had built the city, planted the state. They were native and to the manner born. In early times their claim was put forth modestly, as is shown in their names of *patres*, fathers. They were merely housefathers, the goodmen of the colony. In a few generations, however, patres came to express much more; to signify that aristocratic order in whose hands the government of the state was lodged.

The populus Romanus lays claim to original possession.

No sooner was the city founded than a second folk began to be gathered by accretion to the true populus. Other colonists came in who could not claim the same rights as the originals. The organizers of a corporation in modern times do not admit the subsequent stockholders on the same basis with themselves. The populus Romanus had gone in on the ground floor, and all after comers must be *attached* to the primary body. Meanwhile neighboring cities were conquered, and new elements of population were drawn from this source. Not much further on, foreign war began by its agitations to bring increments into Latium, to Rome.

First gathering of plebeian elements around the city.

PATRES ROMANI.—Visitation of the Gauls.

Many, indeed, were the sources from which flowed the streams of this secondary and subordinate population called the *plebs*, or common people.

Beginnings of the struggle of social classes.

The instincts of the Roman race were such as to intensify a distinction of this sort. Never in the history of mankind did an order of men contend with more persistency and determination and, indeed, savage ferocity for the maintenance of the rights claimed by their rank than did the patricians of Rome. On the other hand, the discrimination was felt most keenly by the plebeians. From the earliest epochs they saw themselves disparaged in everything, and from the first they began to reach up and to claim an abatement, a relaxation and abrogation of the restrictions, the removal of the impediments by which they were debarred from the full rights of citizenship. Here in this social condition were laid the foundations of that inevitable struggle which continued through centuries, and never reached its decisive and final issue until Julius Cæsar trampled the old aristocracy of Rome in the bloody mire of Pharsalia.

Conditions leading to the final victory of the plebeians.

We here notice only the social aspect of this great question. With the process of time the pride, the arrogance, the power even of the patricians became fortified more and more in the traditions of the race and in all the precedents of Roman history; but at the same time the plebeians constantly increased in number. The disproportion between them and the patrician order became greater and greater. As we have seen in the Commons of England, wealth grew in the lower order. Adventurous plebeians, by commerce and adventure, became rich, and the pride of vulgar wealth was set up against the pride of pauper aristocracy. This increase of the money power in the lower order of Roman society was perhaps the determining factor in its ultimate triumph over that illustrious aristocracy whose rank dated back to the founding of the city—aye, before the founding of the city; for it is claimed in the Roman traditions that Romulus himself had to face the problem of the patres and the plebs; that they were already in a state of beligerency at the time when the warborn whelp killed his brother for leaping over the walls of his city. Space does not offer here for tracing out the nature of the conflict, even from the social side, by which the lower order of people was carried forward to final victory over the nobility. It was essentially a struggle of the plebs to become populus Romanus, to reach an equality of privileges with the patrician rank, and particularly to share the public offices and have a part in the distribution of the *folkland*, or common domain, which the Roman state was constantly gathering by conquest.

Rise of clientage; philosophy of the system.

The next aspect of Roman society as it presents itself for our consideration was clientage. The word is derived from an old Latin word signifying "to obey;" so that the primary idea in the relation was obedience. It can hardly be doubted that this relation was first instituted between the feeble and dependent plebs and a member of populus Romanus, patrician father. If, as we have seen, the term patres and populus signified at first the same social fact, we may easily discern how humble would be the first increments of plebeian society. Newcomers to Rome would be glad to *attach* themselves to any *pater* whom they could induce to look upon them with favor. There would arise in such cir-

cumstances a primitive, voluntary compact by which the stranger, helpless and dependent, would be bound in certain respects to the patrician who took him under his protection.

Modern society is not without its examples of such situations. They arise naturally. There is always a drifting and vagabond element in civilized countries, passing from place to place and appearing at the gates and doors of the established people who own the soil and live by industry. The vagrant is in a half-starved condition. He is willing to enter service temporarily or permanently on condition of being attached to the household, clothed, fed, protected. He promises to perform certain duties in return for certain benefits. The situation is very real, and, *mutatis mutandis*, it is not unlike the first agreement made between the dependent and the patron in Roman clientage.

Resemblance of like phenomena in society of modern times.

Patronus was the name by which the superior party to the compact was known. *Client* was the name of the inferior. The house mother, an aristocratic lady, was *Matrona*. According to the Roman theory of society she stood for the patronus in his absence and exercised his prerogatives. To the first client was added the second, then the twentieth, perhaps the two hundredth. Around the patron were gathered a mass of these hangers-on. It was one of the most striking aspects of the society of Rome.

Names and parts of the principal actors in clientage.

SWARM OF CLIENTS.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

Meanwhile, however, clientage had departed from the original simple dependence of a plebeian upon a patrician, and had become an institution irrespective of the relations of the plebs and the

populus. Any rich man of any rank might become a patron, and any persons of the lower orders of society might attach themselves to him in dependence. Patrons themselves of the smaller sort might become clients of some greater patronus. In fact, the whole of Roman society was involved in the system which was, in its full development, not dissimilar to the vassalage and lordship

The system extends and becomes the feudalism of Rome.

It was intended that the clientage should give the patronus social importance. His rank among his fellowmen —we speak not here of civil rank—was determined in large measure by his client following. To have many clients was to be distinguished in society. To have few was to be obscure. On the other hand, the patronus had social duties with respect to the clientage. They had a character in society which he must

LAWYER AND CLIENT.—The Study.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

of that feudalism which was destined afterwards to take possession of the countries once dominated by Rome.

In the system of Roman clientage we see again the interlocking of private and public life. Part of the duties which the clients were expected to render to the patroni were private, and a part were public. Some of the obligations were simply social, and others again were political, civil, juridical.

Clients must render both private and public service.

support and defend. The terms which we here employ to express the interdependence of the two parties are too exact and modern for the facts to which they refer. The relations of the clientage and the patroni were loose and in some sense voluntary. In course of time the law came in to define and regulate the intercourse and mutual obligations of the parties, but the system was never exact and definite as would have been the case if clientage had been

purely a civil institution rather than a social.

Manner of the intercourse between patronus and client.

The manner and method of intercourse between the parties to this peculiar compact have been many times described. The client was not a member of the familia, but he was attached to the familia, more particularly to its head, as an outside dependent. The principal social obligation resting upon him was in the matter of that indefinite fact called *respect*. He must show respect to his patronus. The tie was personal. It was considered an evidence of social importance that with each morning the clients of a given patron should visit his residence. This act was a part of that respect which must be shown to the superior. The visit might be brief. Punctuality in this regard was stimulated by the daily distribution of what was called the *sportula*, or dole. This was the allowance of provision, or money in lieu thereof.

Mutual duties and obligations of the parties.

The client was by no means sensitive in these particulars. He accepted anything that the rich family had to contribute to his welfare. He took up the cast-off clothing and accepted the rejected food from the table of the lord. It was not allowable, however, for a client to make the morning call upon his patron without having attended to the formalities of society. He must put on his toga and make himself presentable. Otherwise it was not respect. The rule requiring daily attendance upon the patron was inexorable. Any neglect in this regard broke the relation. From these mere social aspects of the question the duties at once rose to a higher plane. If the master were going into the forum to deliver an oration that day his clients must all attend. They must be near him during the delivery of his speech and applaud to the echo, doing everything in their power to create a favorable impression as to the merits of their master's endeavor. Perhaps he was going to the court. Possibly a cause of his own was on trial. He must be attended thither by his dependents. Their presence in the court room gave influence and character to him whom they followed and a favorable bias toward his cause. In all this we see once more that compactness for which the social and civil structure of Roman society was so noted. It was interwoven in all its parts. After some centuries it will require the long and dreadful debilitation of vice to weaken this structure sufficiently that even the Goths may rend it asunder.

Degrading influences of the system of clientage.

In the system of clientage there was much that was abject and degrading. In fact, there were points of view from which the clients were not far removed from slaves. Any infraction of the rigorous rules which determined their conduct subjected them to loss of place. They were treated with many indignities. In the gray dawn of morning, through blasts of bad weather, they must make their way to the outer porch of their patron and there stand shivering until his lordship should at length appear to bid them good morning. Meanwhile they were jeered at by the servants of the house. Internally, they were subject to all jealousies and rivalries which men of their class might feel. It was a great point to be first to attract the master's regard on his coming forth. To be occasionally invited by him to sit at the lower end of the table when supper was served was a mark of special distinction. As a rule, the crowd was dismissed after the salutations of the morning had been

interchanged; but if public service were required, then the dependents must be in readiness to follow at the nod of the patrons—an abject, miserable life, concomitant shadow of that brilliant and showy patrician life of which old Rome was boastful. In such strongly contrasted conditions of old Roman society lay dormant the fruitful seeds of dissolution and death.

CHAPTER LX.—SLAVERY AND THE FAMILIA.

BOVE the horizon appears the crouching form of the slave. Slavery was known even in primitive Rome, but it was not a prevalent system. It required successful war to bring in the captives requisite for the slave market. With the increase of property, and especially with the appearance of luxurious and licentious tastes, slavery became popular, and slave labor was substituted for free labor in all the principal vocations of the Romans.

Origin and prevalence of slavery among the Romans.

As the republic became vast and powerful the tide of captives was swollen to a flood. Thousands were poured annually into Rome and were bought for a trifle. Great foreign cities were taken by siege and their whole population brought into Italy for sale. The inhabitants of Numantia and Carthage were thus indiscriminately sold in the slave auctions of Rome. That which was an incidental and personal traffic at the first became at length one of the principal branches of commerce. The slave trade was organized as a business in all parts of the empire; and it is a mocking comment upon the transformations of ancient history that the island of Delos, mythical birthplace of Phœbus Apollo, god of light and music and art, became under the dominion of Rome the chief seat of the slave trade of the Mediterranean.

There were two great branches of Roman industry which were prosecuted by means of slave labor: agriculture and mining. This division constituted the basis of distinction between the rural slaves and the *servi urbani*, or urban slaves. In the great cities also the servile class grew numerous. The household work of the Romans, done of old time by themselves, was remanded to slaves, and the retinue increased till it was not an uncommon thing for a wealthy citizen to have hundreds of these abject creatures in his service.

Kinds of slave labor and manner of the service.

While performing their duties—we speak here of service in homes—the slaves were forbidden to speak or to communicate with each other. An overseer called the *silentiarius*, or silencer, was appointed to watch over the horde and keep them in order. There was a class, however, called the *Vernæ*, that is, slaves born in the service of a given master, whose privileges were somewhat enlarged. They were permitted to converse, and this relaxation of the stress of servitude acted, as usual, in the manner of a vent through which the loquacity and scurrilous impudence of the Vernæ were poured forth into a sluice.

With the growth of the servile class degrees of skill appeared, and the slaves were separated according to their abil-

MANNERS OF ROMAN SLAVES.—Street in Pompeii.—Drawn by W. Heinrich

ities and craft. An analysis of slave labor for the various departments of home industry was made out and legalized. The porter of the mansion was called the *Ostiarius*. It was his business to attend the door, and there he was frequently chained to the lintel. The care of the atrium was allotted to the *Atriensis*, while the inner chambers were kept by the *Cubicularii*. The storerooms in the basement were in charge of the *Cellarius*, while the names *Ornatrices*, *Cosmetæ*, and *Untores* were assigned to tailors, bathers, hairdressers, etc.

The principal kinds and classes of slaves.

Some of the slaves became craftsmen, and manufactured for the Roman family nearly all articles of domestic use. In such instances the skill of the operative was monopolized at home. His workmanship was not offered for sale, nor was he looked upon as a profit-producing artisan. It was one of the odd spectacles of Roman society to see a slave called the *Nomenclator* standing beside his master in the porch, running with him in public, and telling him perpetually, in a low tone of voice, the names of citizens which the overfed lord had forgotten. For such was the business of that particular servant.

Degrees of skill among slaves; the nomenclator.

In speaking of the Iranic Aryans, we have had occasion to remark upon their excessive cruelty. There was an element of this, of heartlessness, of vindictiveness toward those who were in their power, among all ancient peoples; but in certain cases these qualities came out with unusual severity. We might expect, *à priori*, that the great warlike nations would be most cruel. Doubtless war aggravated the instinctive harshness of some ancient peoples, but the characteristic was in other respects ethnic and instinctive. The Iranians, in their historical development as Medes and Persians, were conspicuous among the Eastern Aryans for their cruel dispositions. The Indic races were, as a rule, the gentler folk. Perhaps the war blasts of nature, the strong contentions of the material world, had not so much affected the mental and physical constitution of the races who were developed in the valley of the Indus and the Ganges. We shall have occasion further on to note the reäppearance of cruelty in its intensest form among some of the Semitic peoples, notably the Assyrians and the Jews.

Cruelty among the Ruddy races; particular examples.

Looking at the Western Aryans, the bad distinction of most cruel must be given to the Romans, and the quality has flowed down with the blood of the race until it is a conspicuous trait among nearly all the Latin families of the modern world. We speak here of the disposition of the Roman toward his slaves. He had over them the *potestas vitæ necisque*. He might destroy them with little fear of bad consequences to himself. They were his. The ancient theory of war made them so. His right extended to all manner of punishments. If all the tortures inflicted by Roman masters upon their slaves could be displayed in a picture, the world would be appalled at the scene. The Roman slave might be tortured merely to extract evidence from him in legal causes wherein he was merely a witness. A slave fugitive became a wild beast in the estimation of society and before the law. He was hunted down and taken by any means and every means at the disposal of the master, and when caught he was branded or put to death by crucifixion or other horrible torture, at the

The Romans conspicuous for cruelty to slaves.

cruel caprice of his owner. It was no infrequent thing to bind fugitive slaves hand and foot, to carry them to the hills and expose them to have their eyes pecked out by birds of prey, and to be eaten alive by wild beasts.

Horrors of human slavery; ameliorating features.

The horrors of human slavery! The soul revolts at the sight of the spectacle! Of all the awful and grief-working phenomena of suffering human society, whether in barbarian ages or the civilized epochs of history, nothing comparable with this dark and malignant shadow has rested upon the landscape of life, poisoning and corrupting all fountains of love and hope, dropping its upas mildews on every blossom and fruit of happiness, making the world a desert and a hell.

Out of such a fact as the slave system of Rome all abuses would naturally arise. We should expect to see the obliteration of human lineaments in the relations of masters and slaves. Strange it is, however, that the system had its alleviations. These were discoverable in part in the occasional generosities of individual character, and at a later time in the relaxations of the severity of Roman customs and laws.

Danger of deducing too large conclusions in history.

This is but another example of that universal fact of deducing from given historical premises too large a conclusion. The beginner in historical inquiry is ever prone to apply the Aristotelian syllogism to human affairs, and to gather therefrom a series of deductions, some of which are greatly too wide and others greatly too narrow for the actual facts of history. For a long time the mind is perplexed, embarrassed, almost angered with this disparity between actual conditions as they occur in the world and the conditions that *ought* to have occurred according to the principles of logic. Indeed, history might almost be defined as the illogical science. In such definition it is by no means meant that events do not correspond exactly to their antecedents. The trouble lies deep. The antecedents are never fully apprehended. They are apprehended in *some* of their *leading* features. The historical vision being imperfect, these leading features are taken as a complete expression of the data, and are combined in premises. From these, as we have said, conclusions are drawn according to the rules of logic, and the latter are presently found to be wide of the facts.

Historical inquiry a process of rectification.

From this consideration all true historical inquiry becomes a process of rectification between logical deductions and actualities. Let it not be understood that there is in this condition an element of caprice. The imperfections of human knowledge are such that historical premises are never complete. If they were complete, and if right reason were applied in their management, then logic and history would lead to the same results; but so long as they are incomplete and erroneous in statement it will be true, as Guizot has said, that logic is tortured by history—by which he means that the actual affairs of human society never correspond with rational expectation.

Slavery mitigated by humane dispositions of masters.

These reflections are world-wide in their application to human slavery. The system has always had in it the sum of horrors; that is, potentially. But in all ages and countries it has been alleviated by individual goodness and the advancing enlightenment of society. It has always been ameliorated by the pre-slave condition of many of the peoples

who have been given into bondage. It is true that in hundreds of instances the actual condition of slaves under servitude has been for a time and in special circumstances better than in that other state from which they were taken.

Special alleviations of slavery among the Romans.

In Rome these alleviations were seen here and there. The household slaves grew up with the children of the family, and the latter, by the laws of human nature, became attached to those who cared for them in infancy and youth. Afterward, when the Roman boy reached citizenship, the old ties continued between him and his favorite servants. The same happened in the case of slave women. It should be noted, however, that man-slaves among the ancient nations were always greatly in excess. It should also be observed that such was the condition of society as to discourage slave breeding. The absence or infrequency of that horrid fact was another alleviating circumstance. It was cheaper and easier during the ages of ancient warfare—and all ages were ages of warfare—to bring in new adult captives, adult but young and vigorous, than to bear the expense and endure the delay of breeding them from infancy. Still another circumstance added to the ameliorating conditions. The captives were frequently the equals of the Romans in abilities, culture, civilization. Sometimes they were greatly superior. Those that were brought out of Greece were, as we have seen, the schoolmasters of their masters.

Gain to the slaves from possession of superior intelligence.

It might well amuse, if it did not instruct, the modern inquirer to look into a Roman family of good estate in the last century of the republic, and to observe the relations of the master and his slaves. Most of the Roman nobles had a doctor, each of his own. The physician was a slave. Doubtless he was a Greek. A closer investigation of the case would show that this Greek family physician was a quack. He had the wit and craft of his race, and he turned his intellectual abilities to a good advantage out in the West. Italy was the West. The ignorant nabob who owned him did not know but what he was as learned as Hippocrates. Perhaps in his ministrations to the family in time of sickness and bone-breaking he did little harm, for his wit and slight empirical knowledge would carry him through.

Slaves serve as librarians and secretaries.

The master had a library of manuscript rolls, written for the most part in Latin, but otherwise in Greek. The librarian was a slave and a Greek. He not only kept the library, but was skillful in its use. His abilities in reading and translating were his master's best resource of information. Not all physicians, not all librarians, were slaves; but the circumstance of their being so was exceedingly common. Every noted Roman, especially in public life—and what noted Roman was not?—must have a secretary. The secretary was a slave and a Greek. It will be seen that some of these relations were necessarily confidential, and where confidence is necessary cruelty can hardly be practiced. In these conditions we may readily discover the antecedent facts which led to frequent emancipations. The emancipated slave became a freedman. He at once associated himself with others, and the class of freedmen was thus constituted the *Liberi* of Roman society.

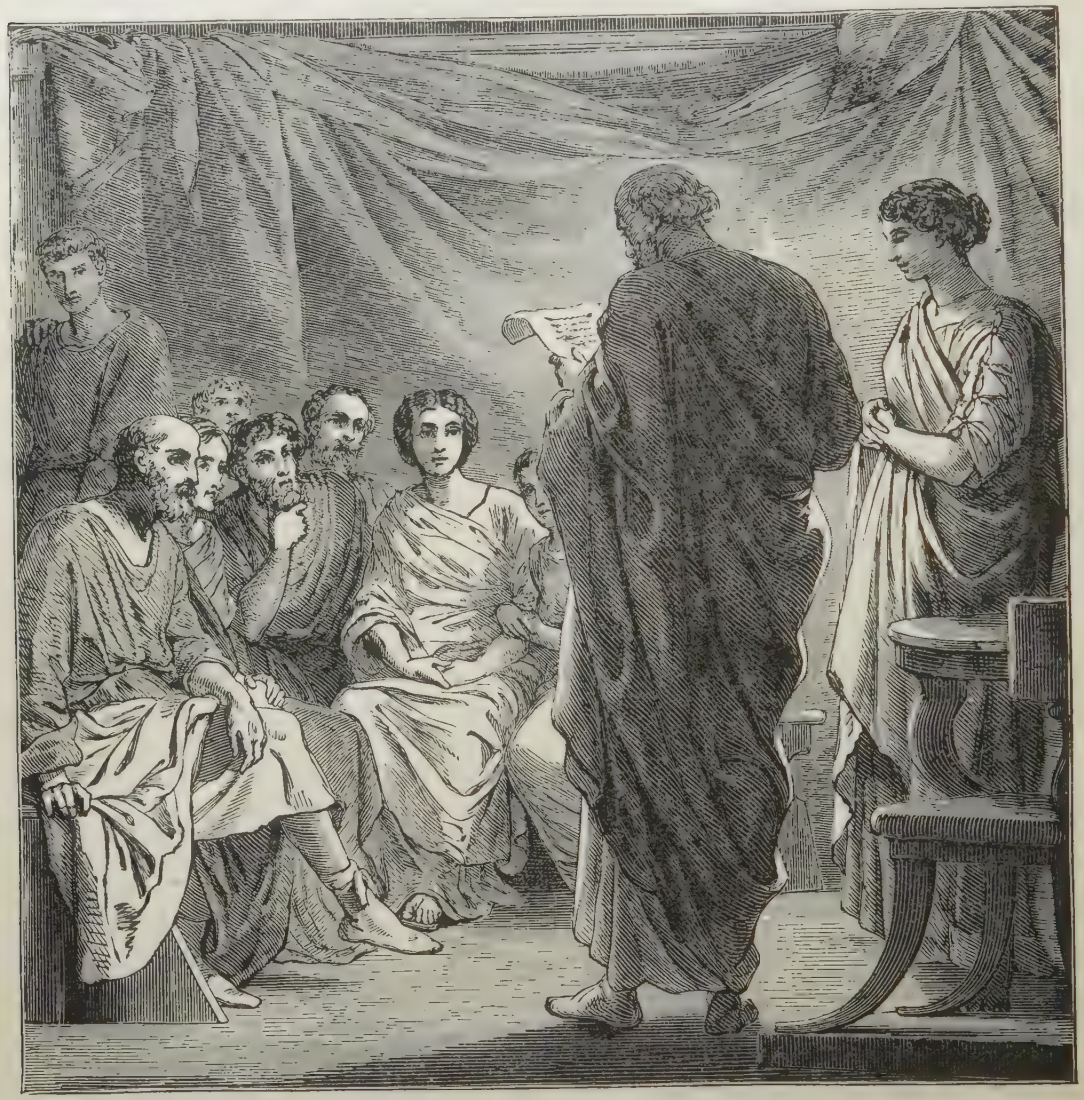
It will be readily seen that the institution of slavery in Rome, like several of the facts which we have been considering, had its political, or civil, as well

as its social side. The slaves were an element in society, and they were also an element in the state. In process of time the civil relations of Roman slavery became more important than even in its social aspects. The great multiplication of the *servi*, the increase of the general slave increment among the Roman population, became a menace to civil authority and even to the perpetuity of the republic.

Political and civil aspects of Roman slavery.

It is probable that in all countries the institution of slavery runs the same general course. It begins from the social side. The advantage to the individual man of having another to labor in his stead, the cupidity of the first and the weakness of the other are the bottom causes for the beginning of the slave condition; but these causes are common throughout the tribe. Slavery thus advances and becomes at length universal. Meanwhile the law must deal with the problem. Statute is added to statute. The

Historical course and end of the institution.



MEETING OF FIRST CHRISTIANS AT ROME.

slave class becomes formidable. Perhaps the leading men of the state come to look with disfavor upon a condition which threatens the general welfare. The state in some form or other must finally deal with the whole question, and then comes the extermination of the system.

Christianity seeks to mitigate or abolish slavery.

In Rome the agitation against slavery began with the reign of Hadrian. It is believed that the Christian teachers had now disseminated their doctrines and had inveighed against the system to the extent of weakening its hold. The practices of the new religion, especially that of the communion, required a certain equality which could only be attained by elevating the slave and abasing the master. The later legislation of the empire had many statutes against the abuses which had long existed; but no direct, or at least successful, efforts were made for abolition. The best that could be accomplished was to promote and multiply the means of manumitting the slaves and of raising them to citizenship.

PATERFAMILIAS.—STREET SCENE IN POMPEII.
Drawn by W. Friedrich.

Evolution of the Roman familia.

We have here been considering those parts of Roman society which were not directly based on the sexual relation. We now add a fuller exposition of the *familia* as a part of the social system of Rome. This was an institution peculiarly Roman in its origin and development. It might be difficult to discover in any other ancient society a fact corresponding to the familia; and yet it appears to be in its evolution natural enough, if not, indeed, inevitable. As we have said in a former part of the present chapter, the Roman familia had the family for its core. The family—using that term in nearly its modern acceptation—was the central and essential part. That is, the union by marriage of the man and the woman, the primacy of the former as the head of the house, the birth, rearing, and authoritative subjection of the children to the monogamic pair, the aggregation around this stem of certain usages which gradually be-

came law and determined the form for all unions of like sort in the general society of the state, were the fundamental inner fact and vital life of the familia.

But around the family were gathered several increments in order to constitute the familia complete. First, there was the increment of the slaves. All the slaves belonging to the household were unified with the family to the extent of being put under the common social name—familia. The slave retinue grew in many instances to enormous proportions. It was no uncommon thing for the paterfamilias—and the materfamilias as well—to own an aggregate of hundreds of slaves. Not infrequently the horde extended to thousands. However extensive this mass of servi might be, they were a part of the given familia, the penumbra of which the umbra was the family.

Various social increments added to the family proper.

The second increment was the property, personal and real, possessed by the household. This, of course, is only the extension of the idea already developed in the slaves. They, too, were property. They were chattels. They were designated as personæ, the real property and personality of the paterfamilias being designated as *res*. The two kinds came together under the common title of property; and both alike were parts of the familia. In short, whatever the paterfamilias owned or controlled in his personal right as a Roman citizen, that was a part of familia—real property (*res*), slaves, all manner of things which he might rightfully claim and control.

The property feature of the familia.

Over and above this a third fact was necessary to round out and complete the familia, and this was to include with the living family the dead family and families which had preceded the living back to a common ancestor. This was the historical increment. Ulpian, in his *digest* of the Roman law, says: "Familia is a term including the many persons who are derived by blood from some common primitive progenitor, as we say *familia Julia;*" that is, the Julian family. He also adds: "But *the woman* is the beginning and the end of the familia." This must mean that under some old theory or condition of Roman society the woman was the fountain head of its derivation.

The ancestral element in the institution.

To sum up, then, we find that the Roman familia was, socially considered, a wide term including the several items of family proper, slaves, personal property, rights, hereditaments, and the immaterial fact of ancestry back to the beginning of the name. Politically considered, the familia was the major division of the gens; and we have already seen how the gens was fitted into the structure of the state. Mark again the compactness of the building. Even the very slaves were bricks and mortar in the walls of that tremendous edifice destined to overtop the world.

CHAPTER LXI.—BATHS AND LUXURIOUS LIVING.

IT has been customary among historians to divide human life into two parts, a public part and a private part, and to deduce all history from the former; that is, from the *public* element in human conduct. It may not be difficult to find the cause, but it is certainly difficult to discover the reason of such a division and limitation. The cause is undoubtedly discoverable in the general fact that the public conduct of mankind appears to the common eye, the eye of sense, to be more brilliant, more tragic, more of an action proper than does the private life of man. Deferring to this popular concept, historians are wont to omit from the record what is really its most essential part.

Man-life embraces a private and a public part.

The truly vital thing in the course of this world is the individual life of man. The rest is evanescent and spectacular. The immortal part hovers close around the individual. The structural part in course of time collapses; but the living increment, that goes on through all the societies, gathering experience, growing in wisdom, extending its powers, and perpetuating whatever is good out of the past, is that private, personal, and fortunately indestructible part of human agency expressed in the individual life.[1]

In the matter of ancient history especially this vice of making a drama of public affairs and inviting the modern nations to the spectacle has been conspicuous. It may be freely admitted that such events as the heroic public episodes in the career of the Hellenic race, that such colossal structures as the Assyrian and Roman empires, are worthy of the admiration of men. At times the busy peoples of the day may, with infinite profit to themselves, sit down before the pictured pages in which the brilliant public life of the great nations of antiquity is displayed, and watch the metamorphoses as we note and applaud the changes and catastrophes of the Shakespearean drama on the stage; but the drama is not all, not even the principal part. On the contrary, the private life contains the germ, the essence, the flavor of all that is; and history is only in these last days beginning to learn that this private life must be elaborated and displayed for the real instruction and inspiration of mankind.

History made to deal with public affairs and spectacles.

The student of history will not have proceeded far with his inquiries until he begins to feel the extreme difficulty of *realizing* the social aspects and conditions prevalent among ancient peoples. The eye, the ear, all the senses and faculties of the mind have been trained from childhood by observations and reflections upon the current aspects of human society. These aspects are named and described. The terms employed in this nomenclature and description are by historians used in naming and describing the societies of the ancient world; but the facts which answer to the terms in modern society are really so different from the corresponding facts in the ancient social landscape as to be utterly misleading to him who has not

Difficulty of realizing the social aspects of the ancient world.

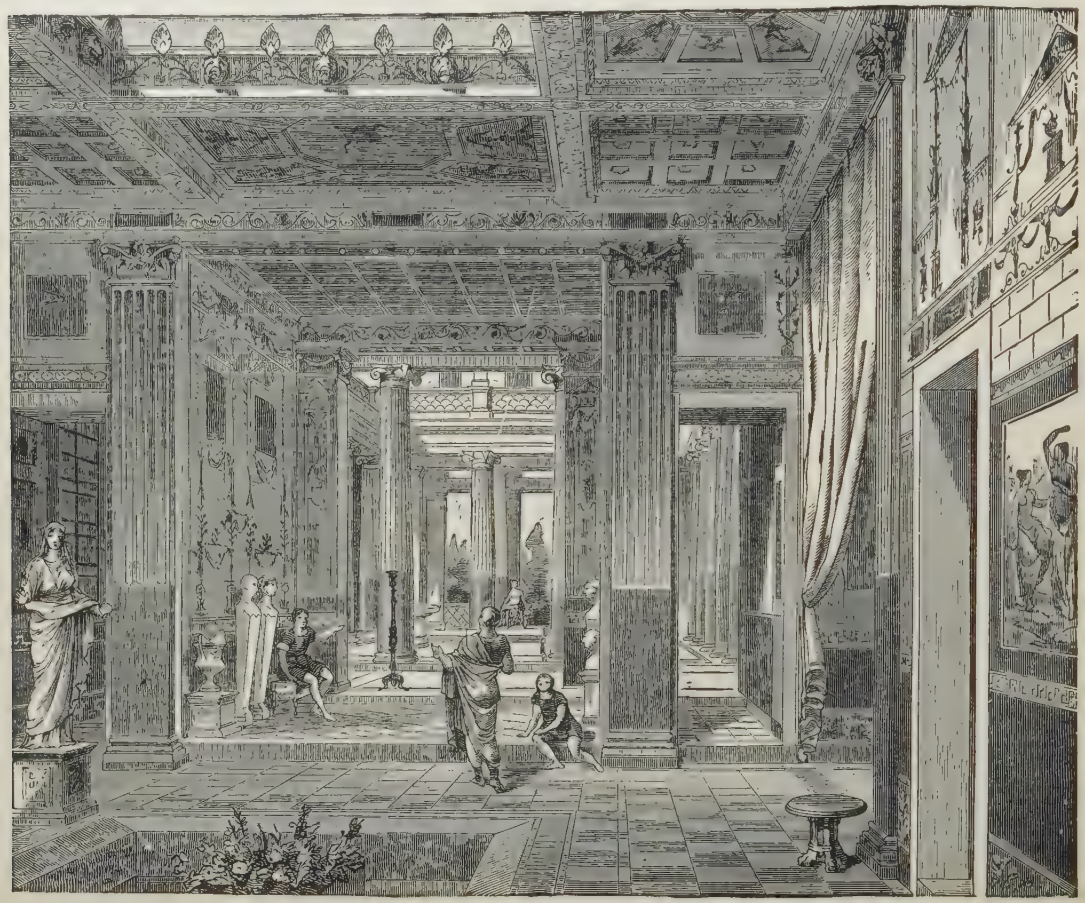
[1] History is the essence of innumerable biographies.—*Carlyle.*

been taught to make an allowance for the evolutions and changes through which the private life of man has passed in order to reach its present condition.

Against these errors we here stand guard. We endeavor to gain a point of view from which a true perspective into the past may be obtained. We strive to look at the past not with the eyes of sense wherewith the natural landscape of the modern world is discerned and analyzed, but with the eyes of the spirit and the understanding. Let us then look with this intense and divining gaze at some of the aspects of the everyday life of the Roman people.

The life of the Roman may be defined as large and coarse. There was only one circumstance in the nature of an instinctive refinement conspicuous in the Roman home. This was the disposition to bathe. On the whole, the ancient peoples were much more tasteful in this regard than are the moderns. If we make the circuit of the Eastern countries from Egypt to Assyria, from Assyria to Greece, from Greece to Rome, compassing the better peoples of antiquity, we shall find the bathing habit universal among them. Notwithstanding the grossness of the Romans in many of their manners, they regarded cleanliness as an essential of everyday happiness.

Instinctive disposition of the Romans for bathing.



INTERIOR OF ROMAN HOUSE.—Showing the Atrium and Alæ; Tablinum and Peristyle, with Fauces on each Side, and Garden Trees in Background.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

We must bear in mind ever that the public institutions of a people are ex-

ponential of their private tastes and preferences. The principal buildings of a city will always express the dominant ideas, desires, and passions of the inhabitants. The public bathing establishments of modern European and American capitals and resorts of pleasure would by no means compare in number and elegance with those of the ancient world. This is said absolutely of the character of the structures in question, and also relatively to their importance as balanced against other public edifices. In Rome the temples occupied the first place in grandeur, and after these the baths may be placed next. The latter were as elegant and commodious in their kind as were the marble palaces which the Cæsars and other Roman nabobs built for their own glory. As we have said, the public structure was merely expressive of a prevalent disposition among the people.

Public baths attest the prevailing sentiment of the people.

We must of course make some allowance on the score of climate. As we approach the equator we find barbarians indulging more and more frequently in the pleasurable reäctions of the bath, while in high latitudes such indulgences are neither desirable nor possible. Italy was sufficiently warm to intensify the instinctive dispositions of the Romans in this respect, and it is doubtless true that under the imperial régime the voluptuous habits, the gormandizing and consequent corpulency of the people provoked the frequent repetition and long continuance of bathing. We here speak, however, of the habit among the common folk. The Roman houses, like those of the Greeks, were, even in their humblest estate, provided with a bath, and to this the occupants were constantly resorting. In the country regions the plunge into the river or lake was an excitement universally desired. In the history of the mythical times, before the establishment of the republic, we find frequent references to swimming as an accomplishment. The soldiers must be able to swim. In such historical allusions we can always discern the excitement and enthusiasm consequent on plunging into the water. Shakespeare has caught, as usual, the real spirit of the ancient narrative in the speech of Cassius descriptive of his swimming contest with Cæsar:

Climate suggests the bath; literary references thereto.

Cassius.—"For once, upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
Cæsar said to me, 'Darest thou, Cassius, now,
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?' Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bade him follow: so, indeed, he did.
The torrent roared; and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews; throwing it aside,
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
But ere we could arrive the point proposed,
Cæsar cried, 'Help me, Cassius, or I sink.'"

The private bath was a *balneum*. Its importance in the household and in the city may be inferred from the vocabulary which it produced. The *balneator* was the bath keeper. Neptune was facetiously called the balneator frigidus—the cold bath keeper! The *balneaticum* was the piece of money which the bather must pay; for the term *balnea*, or baths, was soon extended from the private homes of the Romans to the less pretentious sort of bathing establishments in the city; and for using these the bather must pay. The woman bath mistress was called the *balneatrix*, for the women as well as the men of Rome had the passion of the water. The baby bath was the *balneolum*, while the utensils peculiar to the bathing house were described as *balnearia*. Even the witti-

Nomenclature of the baths and the managers.

cisms in which the bathers indulged—albeit Roman wit was always a clumsy phenomenon—had their descriptive phrase, being called *balneares joci*, or bathing jests.

The habit of the bath among the Romans was undoubtedly at the first merely for health and cleanliness; but with the advance of society and the acquirement of leisure, which some have reckoned to be the end of human endeavor, the bath they appear to us in the great days of imperial splendor. They were called *thermæ*, and in the course of time constituted, as we have said, a large part of the architectural grandeur of the city. Long before this, however, all the refinements and associated pleasures of the bathing house had been introduced. It is doubtful whether any Turkish or Russian bath of modern times is more than a feeble imitation of the elaborate and

Bathing passes from sanitary to luxurious motives and habit.

Establishment of the public baths of the city.

MENTONE.—Drawn by W. Hatherell.

came to be sought simply for the pleasurable reäctions which it afforded. With this came the introduction of hot and cold baths. Nature had, indeed, forerun the art of man in these respects by scattering hot springs in Italy, and to these were added mineral waters, the health-giving properties of which were eagerly sought by the people of the Roman race.

With the progress of luxury the bathing establishments were extended, and soon became public institutions such as careful reäctions which were planned and produced in the great thermæ of Rome.

In a former chapter we have remarked upon the general absence in the Roman state of the artificial means of physical culture. The Romans were never a gamesome folk as were their kinsmen, the Greeks. This is said not of their disposition to *witness* games, but of any subjective passion for gymnastical sports. From

Ethnic disposition of Romans to witness contests.

the primitive times certain games at ball were prevalent, and the body was sometimes developed by the swinging of clubs after the manner of the gymnasium. It became the custom of the Romans to follow the indulgence in physical sports with the indulgence of the bath. This was but the suggestion of nature common to all men and to all animals to enter the water after exercise. In connection with the bath houses, both *balnea* and *thermæ*, galleries, open spaces, and transepts were provided in order that games of ball and other exercises might be had before the bather should enter the water.

Method of bathing; different kinds of bathing appliances.

A complete Roman bath consisted of several parts. The bather was first taken through the caldarium, or hot bath. Here he was passed through the sweating stage. By means of steam and hot water he was made to perspire until his huge, strong body was streaming with sweat. Then came the tepidarium, or middle stage, in which he was let down from the excessive heats of the caldarium and thoroughly washed. Finally, he was taken to the great marble basin of the frigidarium, where he was plunged into swimming baths of cold water. Here there was ample room for him to exercise in the great caldrons which were constantly supplied by conduits from inexhaustible reservoirs. There were spray baths and shower baths, cascades through which the bather might run, broad marble steps going down into ample basins, and, in short, every appliance that human ingenuity could invent. The whole process was carried on in a series of apartments which for architectural splendor and artistic decoration could hardly be surpassed in Rome. So far as the public baths were concerned, it was generally after noonday, when the busy life of the streets and forum had subsided somewhat, that the crowd of bathers began to fill the thermæ. The exercise was long continued. It was performed in a leisurely spirit, and the whole tendency was to encourage the luxurious habit into which the Roman race rapidly declined after the institution of the empire.

Building thermæ as a means of securing popular favor.

An easy index of the dominant dispositions of a people may always be found in the means adopted by public men to promote their own popularity and influence. The wealthy citizen caters to the people. He knows instinctively what pleases them most and in what way their applause may be most easily and enthusiastically provoked. In an age of pagan glory temples are built to the gods. In a country where ancestors are worshiped, pyramids are built over their bones. Mediæval Europe is filled with cathedrals. In a scientific age academies and seats of learning are established. In Rome the seeker for popular favor built *thermæ* and opened them to the citizens. It is proof positive of the passion of the Roman people for the peculiar excitements and pleasures of the bath.

Emperors seek in this manner the applause of subjects.

Out in the Field of Mars, near the Pantheon, Agrippa built the first of those great thermal structures for which the city became famous, and of this he made a free gift to the populace. The Emperor Titus emulated the fame which resulted from this enterprise, and reared a great bath house which took his name. Afterwards, Caracalla, Diocletian, and others carried forward the work of rearing in Rome those magnificent thermæ, the ruins of which to the present day astonish the traveler. In the days of their glory these splendid abodes of rest

and recreation were thronged with the lords and ladies of Rome, who came thither in the afternoons to enjoy the luxury of lassitude and the quickening of cold water. In the Roman *thermæ* the apartments for men and those for the women were separate and under the management of different superintendents.

beach sloped gently to the sea. On the countryside there were hills to be crowned with villas. Near by was the Lucrine lake, and as the central fact, the famous warm sulphur springs pouring out their volume of steaming waters.

In the early days of the republic the Romans, as soon as they had accumulated sufficient means, began to resort to

VILLA OF THE YOUNGER PLINY, RESTORED.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

Sea bathing and coast villas of the wealthy Romans.

The pleasures of sea bathing were recognized by the Romans from the earliest ages. The character of the coast and the temperature of the Tyrrhenian sea invited the inhabitants into the blue waters. The coast of Campania was the most favorable of all. Here was the celebrated bay of Baiæ, one of the most beautiful and placid bodies of water in the world. The this coast, at first for the recovery of health, but soon afterwards for pleasure. There was an instinct in the race which led to the selection of such localities even in distant provinces as the basis of enjoyment and of intercourse. It is likely that this disposition to seek out charming and peculiar places, and to resort thereto for the pleasures of temporary residence abroad, had its origin among the Roman people, and that the corre-

BATHS OF CARACALLA.—Drawn by F. Tiersch.

sponding habit among modern peoples is traceable to the example of Rome.

Neapolis rivals Baiæ as a pleasure resort.

The bay of Neapolis, not far away, was only second to that of Baiæ, but the habit of resorting thither rose at a later date. In course of time the younger resort became the more famous, and Baiæ declined in popularity, but in the latter epochs of the republic it was still the most famous seat of recreation known to the Roman race. Cicero narrates that in his day the shore was adorned with palaces. The neighboring hillcrests were crowned with marble villas that lay slumbering like visible poems in the Italian air. Elegant structures were from the seaside seen in all the landscape. Down hither in summer season came the great senators, the famous generals, the millionaire grandees of magnificent Rome, the emperors themselves with their retinues. Here they disported themselves and lavished their thousands in procuring all manner of pleasures which the race of Romulus had been able to discover. Here by day the sleepy sea was whitened with sails, drifting drowsily before the almost imperceptible breeze that ruffled the surface into a smile.

Scenes of fashion and dissipation of Lucrine lake.

The Lucrine lake also, not far from Baiæ, was alive with pleasure-boats. These were as costly and as varied in fashion as the most elaborate yachts of the present day. On deck, under the awnings, sat companies of the most distinguished people of the ancient world. There they fanned themselves, smiled, and talked in sonorous Latin of the latest pleasure, the newest sensation of the times. Here they were attended by slaves, brought capriciously from unknown regions of the earth. Here they were supplied with banquets, and here they sipped the choicest wines which the rich grapes of Southern Italy could yield. Here were music and song and dance. The revelers filled the hours of twilight, giving themselves without restraint to every luxury and every rapture which the uncurbed will and desire of the great can purchase or prepare in the days of splendid vice.

PLEASURE BOATS OF COMACCHIO.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

Contrast of imperial splendor with democratic simplicity.

We may here be said to have reached the extreme evolution of the Roman race. It was the period of greatest expansion and development. Gibbon has selected the middle of the second century of our era as the time at which

mankind in the world appeared for a season to enjoy the richest abundance and to be most happily organized into a great community. Great was the distance into the past from this epoch of social splendor to the primitive age in which Roman society began its growth and progress. It is the distance from a bowl of porridge in the hands of a peasant to a golden platter filled with broiled tongues of nightingales or the brains of flamingoes in the hands of an emperor; the distance from the maiden Virginia, standing by the butcher's stall awaiting the quick stroke of her father's dagger, to Messalina procuring the destruction of the daughter of Germanicus; the distance from the Horatii to the Prætorian Guards; the distance from the rustic prayer of the Latin shepherd to the lascivious songs of Horace and Juvenal; the distance from stone huts where lived the Sabine farmers to the Julian basilica and the thermæ of Caracalla; the distance from rude customs permeated with patriotism to the pompous lawmaking of Augustus and Trajan; the distance from the humble procession of matrons and republican citizens bringing their offerings to the altars of Jove and Minerva to the long lines of Cæsarean triumphs, winding with *Io triumphes* through the resounding streets of marble-built Rome.

TRUMPETS AND TRUMPETERS OF ROME.—Scene from the Jugurthine War.

With the possible exception of the Assyrians, the Romans were the people of strongest passions known in the ancient world. This quality of character began at bottom with a ravenous appetite. All the Roman appetites were wellnigh insatiable. If we begin with mere eating, we shall find that the characteristic was excess. It may not

Excessive appetites and passions of the Romans.

be clearly known that the elder Romans indulged their voracity as did they of a later age; but from that time forth, at which authentic sketches of the daily habits of the people may be recovered, we find the passion for food to be unquenchable. This is true not only of the quantity but also of the variety of foods consumed by the Romans. In the later times it might also be said that they lived to eat. Even the prosecutions of campaigns into foreign countries had for their rationale the enlargement and variation of the food-supply of Rome. Not that Rome was suffering from scarcity of provisions, but that her stomach and lust were without limit.

Emperors seek to procure the materials of gluttony.

It became a part of the public consideration of the emperor and his obsequious senate and court how —by what agents—additional luxuries and stimuli might be procured for the already engorged and inflamed physical nature within. It would appear that the coarse, vigorous, and sensual nature of the Roman found its only satisfaction in gormandizing. Out of the necessity of things this aspect of the social life was most pronounced in the upper classes of the metropolis. The village and countryside always preserve a modicum of oldtime temperance and chastity. It is in the city's heart that excess reaches the maximum of apoplexy or the heat of spontaneous combustion.

The Roman nature thus became the vortex which swallowed up not only the abundance of the earth but the flotsam and jetsam of all seas. No other nature of man was ever so consuming, so profound and unquenchable in its lusts and appetites. This quality of life extended not only to the single sense of taste but to all the senses alike. The Roman ear was not so much pleased with tender music, the low wail of the Æolian harp, the soft song of love and sorrow, the soulful melody of the lute and harp, but rather with the ringing clangor of broad cymbals, the shouts of victorious multitudes, the wild cries of beasts and men in conflict, and the roar of battle. Even their ointments and perfumes were strong and odorous, as if the sense of smell must be drunken with the pungent distillations of the East.

Unquenchable desires; quality of musical taste.

As for the sense of sight, nothing could satisfy—nothing appease. Far back in the times of the republic the disposition to witness some stormy and bloody scene appeared among the Roman people; and from that time forth all the milder aspects of nature and of life were disprized and neglected. We are here on the threshold of Roman amusements. We speak of that artificial and scenic method of entertainment which the ancient world invented and the modern world has perpetuated as a means of reäction against the heavier cares and duties of life. In the Roman nature the reäction must be produced by some extraordinary force capable of arousing that heavy and energetic being into excitement and fiery heat. Lethargy can only be awakened by the shock of fire or the blast of snow; resistance to environment is the beginning of ethnic power.

Extraordinary spectacles necessary to arouse Roman interest.

CHAPTER LXII.—DRAMA AND OTHER PUBLIC SPORTS.

IN the primitive ages the Romans either invented for themselves or, what is more likely, learned from their neighbors in Magna Græcia the art of dramatic representation on the stage. The drama proper was introduced and enacted somewhat in the manner of the Greeks. Musical entertainments of a simple type were also in vogue before the Punic Wars. The theater was a part of at least the city life of the Romans at a time when they were still struggling for the ascendency in Italy. But the theater did not long hold its place in public esteem. The mimic action was not sufficiently exciting for the Roman nature. The playhouse never held an important place in the architecture of the city. Such buildings were comparatively small, and indicated in all their accessories that the populace were not much interested in spectacles on the stage.

Beginnings of the drama and theatrical representations.

The same may be said of musical entertainments, or concerts proper. In this respect again the Romans rose as high as the Greeks, but rose only by imitation. We have not as yet said anything in extenso about the unoriginative character of the Roman people. The music of the time of imperial glory had not advanced beyond the simpler forms of concerted piping and harping peculiar to the ancients. The mere melodies and harmo-

The unoriginative character; music of trumpet and battle.

A ROMAN COMEDY

nies which were heard in the atrium or portico of the patrician's house, or in the market place or private assembly rooms of Rome, were too gentle to awaken the strong emotions of the people. It required the blare of a brazen trumpet, flinging its echoes far down to the Alban hills to set the Roman blood aflow and to kindle within him the fires of sympathetic action.

ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (INTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.

ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (EXTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.

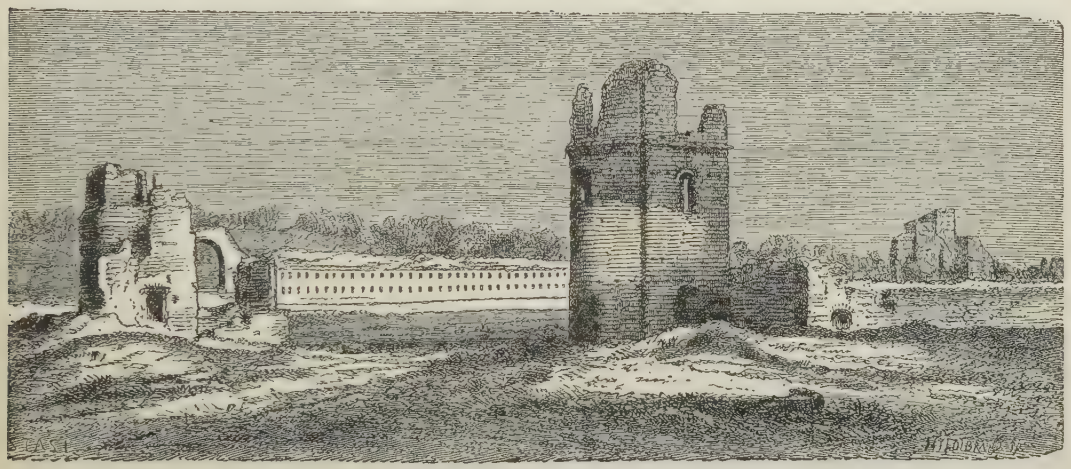
At bottom it was inability to appreciate the artificial and representative panorama of the stage that led the Roman to prefer the real spectacle of the circus and the arena. For a while, and in some of his moods of relaxation, he continued to attend the playhouse and to amuse himself with comedy. There was a peculiar burlesque drama said to have been of Campanian origin, and called the *atellana*, with which the people amused themselves. There was also the *mimus*, another variety of low spectacle, a sort of licentious farce which appealed with considerable force to Roman taste. In these comical productions all that was crude and coarse was poured out on the stage. Perhaps human life never displayed itself with more recklessness and abandonment than in the audacious obscenity of the Roman farce. The only redeeming feature was that the Roman ladies of good repute would not attend the *mimus*, leaving it to the rabblement that hooted and yelled itself into silence at the scurrility and naked shame of the show.

Kinds of stage performance appreciated by the Romans.

It were a whole history to narrate the evolution of the Roman circus and amphitheater. It can not be doubted that the passion for the fierce contests with which imperial Rome was wont to delight herself was dormant in the race from the earliest times. To witness a struggle might be said to be the one universal desire of the people, but in the primitive times the desire was satisfied with those bloodless contests which appear to have had their origin in Greece. They had been borne thence to Magna Græcia, and the early historical contact of the Latins with the people of Southern Italy had carried back a knowledge of Greek sports and the disposition to imitate them.

Evolution of the circus and the amphitheatre.

Before the expulsion of the Tarquins, the open valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills had been converted into a rude open-air circus. Here were celebrated the games with which the still heterogeneous people of the kingdom amused themselves in the intervals of civil insurrection and tribal warfare abroad. The structure of this ancient circus was of wood, consisting of mere scaffolding, platforms, and framework running back from the level grounds where the games were celebrated. It is of record that on several occasions the woodwork was burned, but was speedily restored and constantly improved. The space was enlarged, and stone was introduced as the building material.



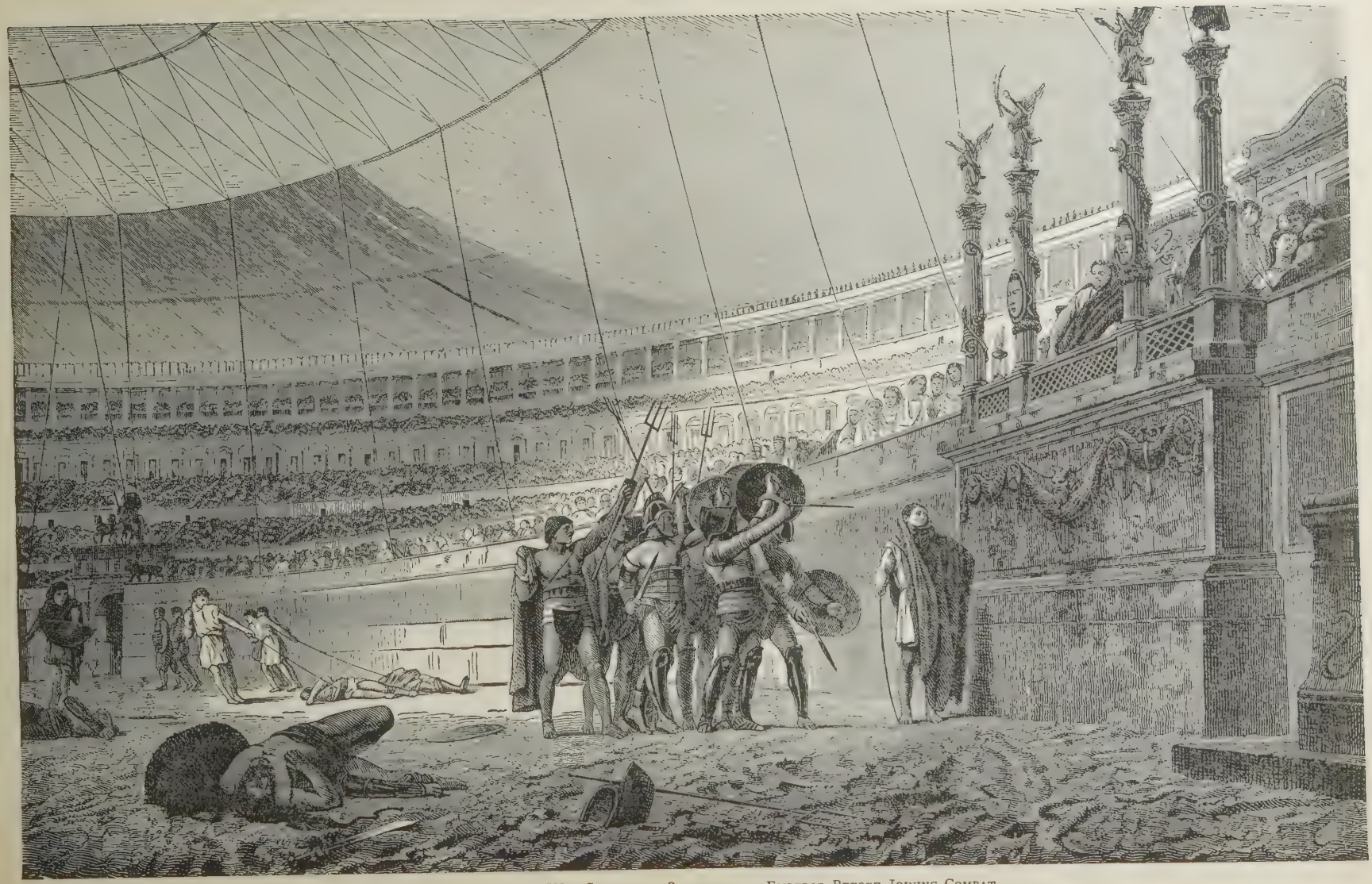
CIRCUS OF ROMULUS.—Drawn by A. Anastasi.

The popularity of the scenes witnessed here provoked at length the enterprise of the senate, and the circus expanded according to the growth of the city. As the republic grew great, so also were the means of amusing the public enlarged and perfected. The wooden circus of the primitive ages grew into the stone-built circus, and finally into the Circus Maximus. By the closing years of the republic the seating capacity had been enlarged so as to accommodate one hundred and fifty thousand spectators. Thus it was in the times of Cæsar. In the reign of Titus the expansion had gone on until two hundred and fifty thousand persons could be seated at one time. Still the passion grew, and in the age of Constantine there was room in the Maximus for three hundred and eighty-five thousand spectators! Without doubt, this was the largest and most commodious single arena that ever drew together the masses of the people in any nation or any age of the world.

Growth of the circus commensurate with the republic.

Here were celebrated those great games and contests which have made the Roman amphitheater famous through all ages. It is not our purpose to describe these contests. Such was their magnitude, elaboration, and ferocity, such was their institutional character, that they may no longer be regarded as a part of the private, but rather of the public life of the Roman people. From the beginning of the empire to its final collapse in the middle of the fifteenth century, first at Rome and afterwards at Constantinople, and indeed wherever the Roman power had its principal seats, the circus became

Amphitheater becomes coextensive with Roman rule.



MORITURI SALUTAMUS.—Gladiators Saluting the Emperor Before Joining Combat.

the arena not only of spectacles and shows the like of which have not been otherwhere seen in the world, but also the seat of great political movements, intrigues, and catastrophes. The story of the circus is a part of that external, tangible history which involves the civil institutions and political transformations of that great people.

Aspects of the Maximus on a day of great games.

Looking at the social side again, however, we may for a moment enter the Maximus in the time of its glory and consider the spectacle. It is the day of one of the great gladiatorial contests. Almost the whole population of Rome has been drawn thither in multifarious streams all tending to this common sea. Here is a sea indeed, a veritable gulf of humanity, into which have been poured all of its affluents, however turbid. The arena is an ellipse. In the center is an elongated area, covered with obelisks, columns, trophies, and small structures of marble where the managers may take their station if they will, and from which the games must be controlled. Around the arena is a wall of marble, and from this, ascending at an easy grade, rise the marble seats of the spectators.

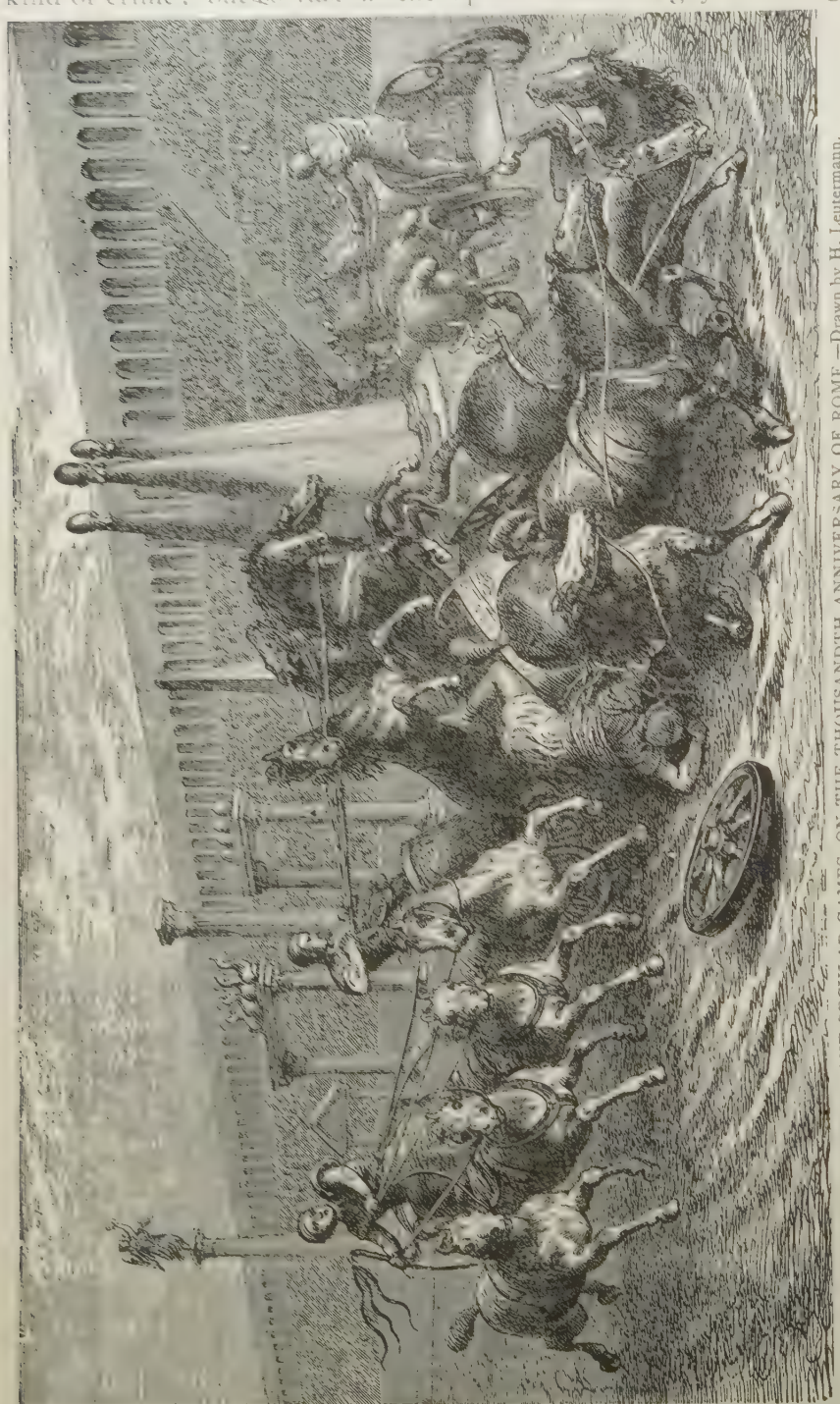
The lowest tiers are reserved for the emperor and his court, for the senate, and for those nobles and grandees who are close to the imperial household. Next above are seen the equestrian order of the Roman people; those whose descent may be traced to the ancient and noble *Equites* who played so important a part in the early constitutional history of Rome. Beyond and above are the seatings of the Roman populace; that is, the great composite mass which constitutes the muscle, the brawn, and bone of proud and licentious Rome.

The Roman populace gather in the upper benches.

It is a reckless and innumerable throng, swarming there in the upper arcades, passing in and out, turning into the stalls to eat and drink, and returning to behold the continuance of the spectacle. The men and women are crowded together. There is no distinction of condition or rank in this tremendous background and aggregation of the Roman people. Provision has been made for the maintenance of the crowds through the day and night. Loungers may remain about those upper seats for a week together without journeying five rods from where they sit or sleep in the intervals of the spectacles. Here, too, is a ministration to all the appetites and lusts and passions that inflame the bosoms of a reckless populace. Abandoned women mingle with the throng. Buyers and sellers of wares pass to and fro. Jugglers and fortune tellers ply their trades and gather handfuls of sesterces from the rabble. Gaming is here; carousing, gluttony, debauchery,

SCENE IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS—GLADIATORS IN COMBAT.
Drawn by P. Beckert, from a wall painting at Pompeii.

every species of excitement, and every kind of crime; but so vast is the space and so perfect is the management that these muddy bastions on high drip not their filth on the noble lords and ladies who sit next to the arena. For them there are gay dresses, gallant attendants, and bouquets of roses.



CHARIOT RACE AT THE SECULAR GAMES, ON THE THOUSANDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ROME.—Drawn by H. Leutemann.

Betting is universal. It is the gaming, the contest, the hazard of the gladiator's thrust, the swiftness of the four-horsed chariot that constitute the issues of the wager. Thousands and millions are squandered here. The noblest ladies, the princesses of Rome, bet as recklessly as the rest. While the race is on they lean forward; their hair falls from its bindings in the excitement and flies loose about the shoulders; the bosom is half-exposed; the statuesque arms, uncovered from the gown, are flung wildly as the coursers come in and the issue is determined. The princess has either won a thousand denarii from her father or lost two thousand to her lover; for she has bet with both!

At no other epoch in the history of the world was so great attention paid to public sports as in the age which we are now considering. Take a single instance, the preparation of the chariot race. Months of careful training were required before the steeds were ready for the trial. The drivers themselves must be professionals, matured in their skill by every species of experiment and vicissitude to which the race course is exposed. To train the coursers requires stable room, workshops, a retinue of hostlers, and veterinary surgeons. The preparation of horses for the modern race, which is simply a trial of speed, is as nothing compared with the painstaking discipline to which the animals were subjected for the great trials in the arena of the Maximus.

Professional preparation for the chariot races.

The institution of racing was originally Greek; but passing into the hands of the Romans, along with other phenomena of the social life of the Hellenes, it took on a development and character different from what it had possessed in the hands of the originators. Indeed, the whole spirit of the games had been changed in the transfer from the eastern to the central peninsula of Europe. We have remarked upon the predisposition of the Greeks to participate in person in the national sports. It was an honor to do so. Nobody but an untainted Greek could enter the Olympic games. They were national, and to win in the contest added to the renown of Greek citizenship. But the Romans were indisposed to take part personally in the public sports. It was only in rare instances that Roman citizens engaged in them at all. Such descent of Romans, whether of high or low estate, into the arena was a circumstance of scandal rather than of honor. It was only in the times of extreme degradation, of the complete perversion of the true Roman instincts and habits, that some of the emperors gratified an insane ambition by participating personally in the gladiatorial combats. The Romans desired to look on and enjoy a spectacle of blood which those whom they had vanquished in war or trained in servility were obliged to celebrate for the amusement of their masters. The passion for it was diametrically opposed to the enthusiasm of the Greeks for their national games.

Difference between Greek chariot racing and Roman.

But we were speaking of the race course and of the preparation of the steeds. So great was the demand for this kind of contest that private enterprise could no longer supply the horses and paraphernalia. Companies were accordingly formed, with a large capital and working force, by which means skillful drivers were procured from foreign parts and others trained for their work. Chariots were also provided in this way, and all the costly apparatus necessary for the games. The steeds must be splendidly caparisoned for the race and the drivers gayly dressed. It thus happened that the wealthy Roman, whether he were a political aspirant or merely a rich nabob descended from the old nobility, instead of preparing his own racers, went to the livery companies and hired at an enormous cost everything that was requisite for the race.

Companies organized to provide for the race courses.

The populace was then advertised of the time and circumstances of the trial. While the first grandee would go to one establishment and hire his outfit for the contest, a second would visit another company and supply himself in like manner. It was with these companies

Adoption of colors to designate the factions.

that the celebrated "colors" of the circus originated. One company would adopt white as its badge, in which case the drivers and chariots and chargers would be adorned with white ribbons and rosettes. Another company would select red, another blue, and another green, as its distinctive badge. This device furnished an easy means to the crowds in the circus of laying their wagers. The betting was done *on the color*, from which it always happened that a great party in the circus would have money at stake on "the Blue," while another faction would wager on "the Red" or "the Green" or "the White." It was of the greatest importance to each company that his own supply of racers and drivers should be of the highest quality of speed and skill, to the end that the fame of the establishment might induce the excited bettors to lay heavy wagers on the color which designated that company. As the contest ebbed and flowed, so the different companies were able to charge their wealthy patrons a higher rate for the services rendered.

It was thus that the Roman populace was supplied by the ambitions of the great with free amusements of the most exciting character. The competition among those who provided the games and sports led to higher and higher developments, and Rome surged from side to side as new methods of amusement were proclaimed. The time of which we here speak was that of Caligula and Nero. It was discovered presently that the intensity of partisanship in the circus might be increased by reducing the number of colors; and so the parties of the White and the Red gradually dropped out of existence, the Green and the Blue continuing.

Competition of the great to provide games and sports.

The bitter rivalry represented by these colors continued during the last two centuries of the empire; and when the House of Theodosius went down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the games and amusements of the West took flight to Constantinople. In that city the same species of amusements was restored, and the same rivalries which had shocked and torn the society of the Eternal City reäppeared in the city of Constantine. Here it was that the factions of the Blue and the Green—as is well known to the student of history—became the prime forces in those wild insurrections which broke out from time to time in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars.

Serious political results from the contests of the circus.

If on the hill of the capitol in the early morning the traveler should have taken his stand on the day of a great race in the circus, he should have witnessed a scene of the greatest excitement which the social life of man has ever displayed. The old pagan mythology still held out its spectral hand from the superstitious shadows of the past over the imperial city of the Tiber. She had demonstrated her right and prerogative to be empress of the Mediterranean nations, but had not renounced pagan deities. The priests came forth at an early hour bearing the statues of the old gods of the race and other symbols of that robust heathenism which had once dominated the beliefs and practices of the Roman people. A religious procession was formed. Cars and chariots were arranged in the order of their importance. The rich and ambitious giver of the day's spectacle was placed at the head in the most gorgeous car. He had the place of honor. He was clad in a purple robe. Priests, of-

Aspects of the populace on the day of contest.

THE GLADIATOR'S WIFE.—From the painting by E. Blair, Royal Academy, 1884.

ficers, clients, and friends surrounded him, shouted their applause, and fell into the procession. Bands of musicians were set at the head of the column. Down from the capitol hill moved the cavalcade, through the forum, into the circus.

Thither already all the tides of Rome had poured their floods. The marble benches, tier on tier, rising till the eye was pained with the distance of the upper wall, were black with tens of thousands who now took up the shout of welcome as the procession moved around the arena. Thus it was that the giver of the spectacle drew to himself the attention and the plaudits of all Rome. Then with a signal the race was on. Four chariots abreast, each drawn by two, or more frequently by four, horses were arranged for the race. Oblivious are those proud animals to the gathered multitudes, but not oblivious to the contest. They rear and plunge for the best place in the starting. All the energies of the drivers are concentrated upon the work before them, and away they go.

Scene in the circus; manner of the races.

The arena is broad and the race is long. Seven times must the great circle be made before the contest is decided; but at length when the issue is seen, when the victorious charioteer dashes madly across the determining line, a roar of applause which contains the composite shout of all Rome hails the triumphant driver. There shall be twenty-four races to-day, varying only in the incidents and details of the contest. By such means from morning to night the excitement is maintained. The old battle cry of the Roman warriors in the primitive times, the cry for liberty, for emancipation, for triumph, for the domination of the Roman race in Italy, has come to *this:* the shout and uproar of the brazen throat of Rome in the Circus Maximus.

Rome invented one thing—the bloody combat. It can not be ascertained at what time in the history of the people this species of horrid amusement originated. Greece knew it not. Nor does it appear that any other branch of the Aryan race fell to the sport of blood. But the Romans sought it first by the preference of nature and afterwards by the force of habit. The blood appetite is perhaps the strongest passion known to man. Even when man hunts the beasts of the forest his excitement is intense and all of his powers are inflamed. What, then, shall be said of the man-hunt?

Rome invents the bloody combat; actual fighting demanded.

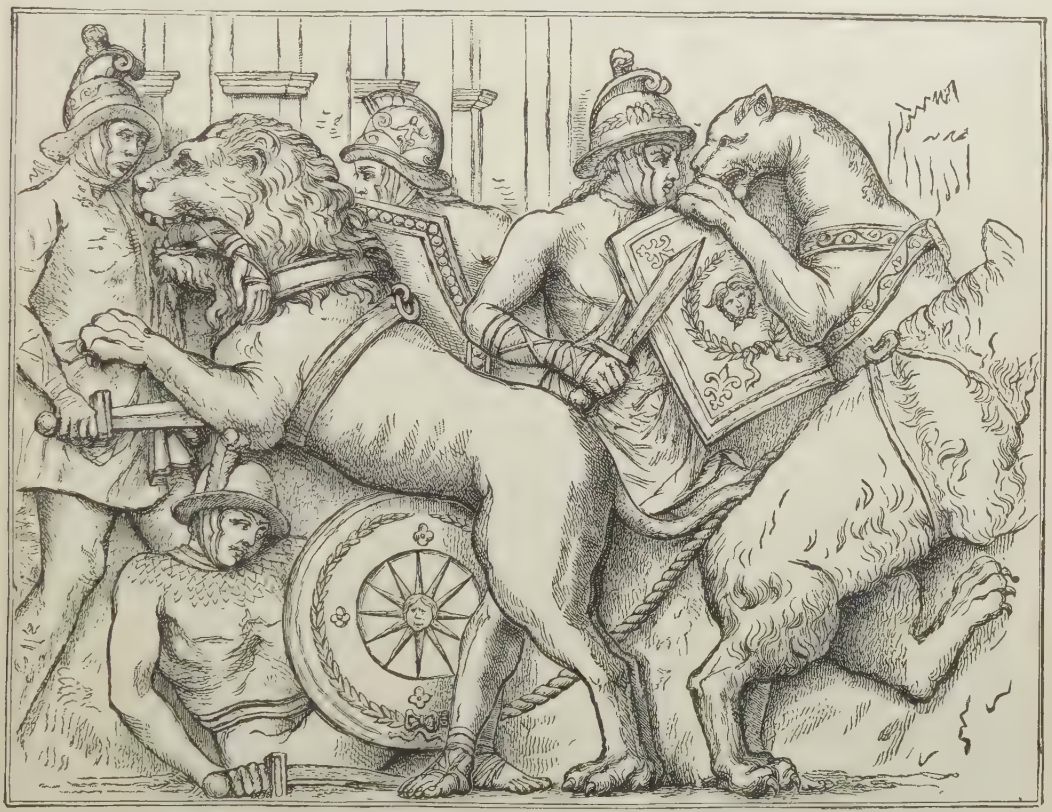
Two circumstances may perhaps be adduced as the bottom causes of the bloody instincts of the Roman race. The first was that subjective realism of character which demanded that everything should be revealed to the natural eye, and nothing to the eye of the spirit. The Romans were the least ideal of all the great peoples of antiquity. All merely representative exhibitions appeared to them dull, weak, lifeless, inane. The thing must be an actuality if it aroused the energies and passions of this strong people. The greatest of all actualities is blood. The blood is the life. To shed it is to squander life—to pour it out on the ground. It is a thing horribly realistic, and must needs please the strong, coarse nature of the Roman race.

The second causative circumstance was found in the long-continued struggle, first of the Latins for the mastery of Latium, and afterwards of the city and state for the mastery of Italy. This conflict extended through several cen-

As war recedes the bloody sports abound.

turies. It was a battle that knew no compromise, no diplomacy. It was simply blow on blow, and wherever the iron sword fell blood poured forth; either blood of the Roman himself or of the fierce Italian peoples with whom he contended for victory. The process of destroying life became habitual, and when the field of actual war occasionally failed, and more particularly when the line of contests of speed and other forms of action took the place of merely dramatical entertainments; just as the great Maximus came to be preferred to the narrow theaters of Old Rome, so in course of time the amphitheater, with its arena of true combat, the actual struggle of beast with beast, of man with beast, and finally of man with man,

Preference of the Romans for combats and blood-shedding.



GLADIATORS FIGHTING WITH WILD BEASTS.—From a basrelief found in the theater of Marcellus.

warfare rolled back from the city, first to the confines of Italy and then to the horizon of the Mediterranean, some artificial process must needs be invented in order that the old race, with its seat on the Seven Hills, might still be gratified with the spectacle of fight, with slaughter and butchery and blood.—Such is the genesis of the combat of the Roman arena.

Just as the games of the circus, the rose to the first place, gaining a preference over the circus in the esteem of the populace. For in the arena of the amphitheater the actualities of war and bloodshed were spectacularly displayed in ever varying forms of conflict adapted to the changing tastes and passions of the hour. The reader of history knows full well the story of these combats; how at the first the Roman generals brought home from distant regions the

wild beasts which were unknown in Italy; how these fierce creatures were displayed in the triumphal processions with which the conquerors were honored on their return to the capital; and how, after they had subserved this purpose, they were made a spectacle by turning them together to destroy each other in fight on the sands of the arena. So delightful to the Romans was this sport that it was soon sought after and promoted as a specialty of public amusement. Then it was that the wild woods of distant Europe and Asia and the desert wastes of Africa were traversed by hunters sent out from Rome for the express purpose of taking and bringing back wild animals for the combats of the arena.

The development of these bloody and brutal sports is a good illustration of the progress and expansion of all human institutions. When the fight of wild beasts was no longer sufficiently exciting, then for the first time the man was sent into the arena to contend with the hungry four-footed monsters of the den. At first, the man was a captive. Perchance he was sent to the sand as an easy method of destroying him when he was no longer useful as a spectacle or valuable in the market. Rare sport it was when the Roman discovered the fierceness of the captive's battle, as he was permitted to know that freedom would come with victory. Then he fought not only for life, but for the liberty to go free. This wage of freedom was commonly placed on the victorious fight of the man with the beast.

Progressive stages of the gladiatorial shows.

COLISEUM FROM THE PALATINE.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

At times a supply of captives was wanting. Why not, under such circumstances, offer freedom in like manner to any slave who would hazard his life in

the arena? Many slaves would do it. For they were not by any means the humble, half-savage slaves known in modern times, but high-spirited captives brought from civilized states and sold in the market to coarse and ignorant masters. Soon it was known through all the under side of Rome that freedom from galling servitude might perhaps be purchased by the victories of the amphitheater. From that day forth the gladiator came as a part of Roman society. Wherever he could he trained himself for the business of the sword. The one great hazard of all hazards might be his skill in a single thrust sent home into the flank of a Bengal tiger or the woolly breast of a Hungarian bear.

The way to emancipation lay through the amphitheater.

Still the Romans demanded more. Suppose two gladiators, instead of one gladiator and a lion, should be turned in together? Royal suggestion! Happy addition and precious bloody increment to the pleasures of Rome! We may already see to what it will lead. A single pair at first, two pairs, twenty pairs, a hundred—swords, daggers, spears, pitchforks, like those of Neptune, snares, hobbles, masks, blindfolds, all manner of combat and all shapes of bloodiness, in a horrid and continuous spectacle, with which the élite of Rome, the masters and the matrons, the young men and virgins regaled their vision, and over which they shouted and clapped their hands in the ecstacies and frenzies of delight. The passion for witnessing gladiatorial combats consumed all classes, and there seems to have been compunction in the breasts of none.

The man supersedes the beast in the arena.

As is well known, the principal scene of these savage spectacles was the Coliseum. This was the largest structure of the kind ever constructed. It was built by Vespasian, or at least begun by him to be completed by others. It had a seating capacity for eighty thousand spectators, and is to the present day one of the best preserved monuments of pagan Rome. Around the arena were arranged the stone dens in which the wild animals were kept and fed or starved according to the exigencies of the battle. This place was the very vortex of the passionate savagery of Rome, where the populace assembled daily to witness the wildest and bloodiest combats which the ingenuity of man has ever prepared and exhibited.

Vortex of Roman life in the Coliseum.

"'Twas here the buzz of eager nations ran,
In murmured pity, or loud-roared applause,
As man was slaughtered by his fellow man.
And wherefore slaughtered? wherefore, but because
Such were the bloody circus' genial laws,
And the imperial pleasure."

We have thus attempted in the preceding pages to depict some of the leading aspects of the social life of the Roman people. All such sketches are necessarily imperfect. Nor may we hope, after a lapse of two thousand years, to evoke from the dust of the dead metropolis of the ancient world the real figures that moved in the streets, crowded the forum, and thronged the circus. The skill of man had not yet, in ancient times, invented the means of preservation which so abound to-day. The daily life of a city and people was not then, as now, recorded in a thousand journals and delineated in a thousand photographs. We are left to manuscripts, inscriptions, and the occasional notices of historians, to the comedies and tragedies of the dramatic poets, and the work of sculptors and artisans. Out of this, however, we may

Much of the daily life of the Romans has perished.

restore at least an outline of that great race by which all the countries of Southern and Western Europe were subjected to a common sway and dominion, to a common form of civilization and government, at a time when England was still inhabited by wild Celts dwelling in the fastnesses of the oak woods, and when the New World existed only in Plato's dream of the Atlantis.

CHAPTER LXIII.—LINGUA LATINA.

E shall in the next place turn to the language employed by the Roman people as their means of intercourse. We shall consider this famous tongue in which the ultimate jurisprudence of nearly all modern nations is recorded as an instrument in the hands of the Roman race, an element of its progress and development.

The Latin race was borne, as we have seen, out of Asia Minor and westward through Thrace and Illyria to its destination in the western part of Central Italy. It can not be doubted that the tribes which thus carried with them to the West the potency of the most powerful nation of antiquity were associated on a large part of their migration with the Æolic Greeks. We have had occasion in a former part to speak of the close affinities of Latin with the Æolic dialect in Hellas and the Ægean islands. This circumstance is indeed the strongest proof which we possess of the common derivation and common movement of the two peoples before the beginning of the historical era.

Significant affinity of Latin and Æolic Greek.

We have also observed above that Æolic Greek was by no means so completely developed as the Doric and Ionic dialects of the same language. The process of free linguistic evolution did not continue to so late a period and reach such elaborate results as were attained in the languages of Central and Southern Greece. This feature of arrested development is the one by which the kinship of the Western tongue is established. We may look at Latin fundamentally either as the most deteriorated form of what may be called the classical Aryan tongues of antiquity, or else as the least developed. We may easily perceive that the slow progress of the Latin wave through Europe and the hard circumstances of the settlement which was ultimately effected in Latium were highly unfavorable to the growth and expansion of the dialects of the Latini, and to this must be added the somewhat forbidding climate through which the nation passed in its journey to the West.

Latin furnishes an example of arrested development.

For language is a physiological phenomenon. There is always a relation between the speech of a given people and the latitude in which that people dwells. More particularly is there a relation of the speech with the general climatic conditions, as to moist or dry, rigorous or mild, equable or stormy. If we look at the dialects of Greek, we shall find that the efflorescence of the Ionic speech was proportional to its position in the most favored part of the country climatically considered. True,

Correlations of language and climatic environment.

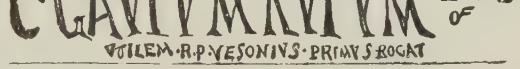
the rougher and stronger Doric was spoken in the south, but its forms had been already established before the migration out of Doris. Æolic Greek was still less evolved from its ruder and more barbarous forms and sounds than was either Doric or Ionic; and Latin represents a still lower type of linguistic evolution. It was doubtless the result of the rough climatic conditions to which the migrating Latini were exposed in the migratory period and to their general frontier character. We shall in the detailed consideration of Latin find many features which were undoubtedly attributable to the hard life through which the language passed in its youth.

Physical conditions determine elasticity of vocal organs.

The bottom reason in this variety of linguistic growth must be found in the elasticity, freedom, and activity of the vocal organs under the influences of a mild climate, particularly where the country in question is subjected to soft breezes from a warm sea. If we were asked to select from all possible geographical localities known to men that particular position most favorable to the complete evolution of a language—we speak here of the physiological evolution—we should with little hesitation choose the coast and islands of the Grecian archipelago. All the conditions are here present for the most easy, rapid, and perfect action of the human voice, and of all the organs subordinate thereto, that are known to exist anywhere. On the contrary, in Thrace and Illyria we are in at least the edge of those harsh conditions of climate which have given to the languages of Northern Europe their guttural and chuckling character.

Through this region the Latin language was carried on the tongues of its progenitors until it was stiffened into that inelastic and inactive form of speech which we discover in the age of Latin letters. It was able to preserve much of its sonorous vocalic quality, but not all. For the vowels were sharpened from the corresponding sounds in Greek, the epsilon (ε) and the omicron (ο) of the latter language rising into *i* and *u* on the tongues of the Latini. This phenomenon is precisely what always occurs in the progress of a race to the westward, or more particularly from a milder into harsher climatic condition. Whenever a colony is sent out from a mother country to a region higher, drier, and colder than the original seat, the tones of the language thus borne away rise to a shrill and piping utterance unlike the parent speech. Without any serious loss of consonantal strength, the Latin tongue

Primitive Latin stiffened and sharpened in its progress.



WALL INSCRIPTIONS FROM POMPEII.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

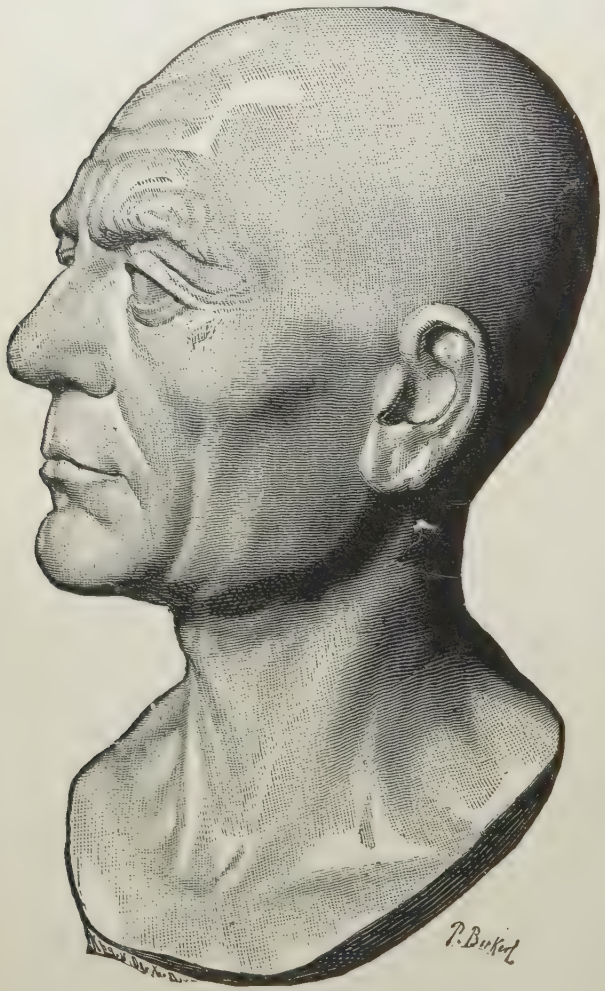
did lose much of the musical vowel element for which the developed languages of Greece were so noted among the dialects of antiquity.

Doubtless the primitive Latin tongues—for there were several—recovered under the mild conditions of Central Italy something of the elasticity and growing force which had belonged to the Aryan languages before their chill in the north. But the recovery was never complete; and the Latin speech might never branch and blossom and bear as did the language of the Hellenes.

If we take our stand in Central Italy two or three centuries before the founding of the city, and glance to the various quarters of the peninsula, we shall find the larger part already occupied with

tribes speaking Aryan dialects. To this fact, however, there are two conspicuous exceptions. In Etruria, in the valley of the Po, and in the district of Campania another tongue is heard unlike the speech of the Latins and Umbrians —so unlike as to note unmistakably the presence of a different race of men. These are the Etruscans, whose probable ethnic affinities have been pointed out in a former chapter.

Primeval linguistic conditions in Central Italy.



OLD ROMAN TYPE—SCIPIO AFRICANUS THE ELDER.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

In the extreme southeast of the country still another foreign language is found, to which the name Iapygian or Messapian has been given, and of which certain inscriptive forms still survive. From these modern linguists have deduced some features indicative of kinship with the Albanian variety of modern Greek, but the affinity is by no means certain. These two foreign languages apart, all others spoken in ancient Italy may be grouped together as of common Aryan descent. They were, at the time of which we speak, dialects in different stages of divergence and development. Latin was one of these, and to several of the others the generic term Umbro-Sabellian has been applied. From this situation the Latin tongue proper began its development as early as a thousand years before our era. This development continued in Latium until the third century B. C., when the Latin tongue became general throughout Central Italy.

Latin becomes the language of the Italican races.

In the other parts of the country the Umbro-Sabellian languages had continued to be spoken, but none of them seem to have made the progress toward the complete forms of a rational language which was evidenced in Latin. In the third century B. C., however, when the conquests of the Latin race brought the other peoples of the peninsula into subjection, the Latin began to be extended as the common language of the whole country, from the Po to Calabria, and from Liguria to Bruttium.

Scholars have been able to discover in the history of the Latin speech three distinct stages of development. The first presents the language in its preliterary, or archaïc, aspect, before literature appeared in Central Italy. The second

The three stages in the evolution of the Latin tongue.

stage reveals the language in process of literary development—a period during which we may suppose a divergence between the colloquial and the literary forms of the language, the latter passing into the evolutions of a complete and rational grammar and vocabulary, and the latter running on in the old, barbarous channels in which it had flowed from the times of the primitive settlements of the tribes. The third stage is marked by the reäppearance of the folk-speech, or true vernacular, in the literature of Rome. It would seem that in process of time, with the general diffusion of letters, the knowledge of reading and writing among the Roman people, the folkspeech was sufficiently improved to solicit at the hands of authors a reincorporation of its stronger elements with the politer, but weaker, forms which had been cultivated in literature.

Nature of the transition from second to third stages.

We may liken this transformation to that which has occurred since the close of the so-called Augustan, or classical, period of English writings, which reached its climax near the close of the eighteenth century. After the times of Pope, Johnson, and Gibbon a reäction took place which consisted essentially in dipping up from the great river of popular speech those natural elements of language which had long been corrupt and rejected as unworthy of literary effusion. In Latin the transition from the second to the third stage in the history of the language was more marked, however, than the transformation to which reference has just been made—so marked, indeed, as to recast and remold the Latin tongue in many of its essential features.

Our real knowledge of the archaïc Latin of the first age is extremely limited. A few actual specimens of the old tongue, which may be called the Anglo-Saxon of Latin, have been preserved in inscriptions and in quotations made by the Roman grammarians and rhetoricians in illustration of the ancient forms of the language. In recent times, since the development of philology as a branch of scholarship, we are able, by reasoning backwards, by deductions from the current forms of speech in the age of Latin literature, to determine what the original forms were before the beginning of the evolution. By all these methods combined the linguistic scholar may restore with tolerable satisfaction the archaïc Latin which was spoken by the men of Romulus, which carried the message of defiance to Porsena, and with which Cincinnatus was hailed from his plow.

Small knowledge of forms and structure of archaïc Latin.

The first epoch in the development of the Latin tongue reached to a much later period than might have been supposed. The republic was already drawing to its close before the archaïc Latin ceased to be the vernacular of the Roman people. It was the age of Ennius, who lived from 239 to 169 B. C., which closed the old and introduced the new era. He was the Chaucer between the barbarous and inorganic forms of the old speech and the literary forms of the new tongue, which he may be said in some measure to have created. As we have said, the specimens of the primitive language which have remained to us are few and unsatisfactory. It is a striking example of the recovery of the seemingly impossible that in times most recent some choice fragments of the archaïc speech have been exhumed from the dead world underlying modern Italy. In the spring of 1880, in the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal, an

Limits of the first period; recent discoveries.

AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE THEATER.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.

earthen vessel of a peculiar triune form was digged up, which held an inscription fairly to be regarded as the very oldest example of the tongue of the Latin race. Even the unlearned reader can but be interested with the transcription of this writing placed alongside of the corresponding forms of the literary age, and its rendering into English. The first of the following lines repeats the ancient inscription, and the second is the translation into Latin:

Jovei Sat deivos qoi med mitat nei ted endo
Jovi Saturno divis qui me mittet ne te in te

cosmis virco seid asted noisi Ope Toitesiæ pacari
comis virgo sit ast nisi Opi Tutesiæ pacari

vois. Dvenos med feced en manom: einoim dze-
vis. Duenus me fecit in manum: enim die

noine med maao statod.
noni me mano stato.

Which may be rendered with tolerable certainty into English thus: "If any one brings me to the gods Jupiter and Saturn, let not any maiden be kindly to thee, except thou wilt offer a sacrifice to Ops Tutesia."

Admixture of foreign elements with old inscriptions.

In the larger part of the tablets and potteries bearing the inscriptive work of the Old Romans, we find a large admixture of foreign elements. It is evident that there was to a considerable extent a jumble of tongues. The Umbro-Sabellians were intermixed with the Latins, and perhaps excelled them in linguistic utterance. No doubt, moreover, in the primitive ages of which we speak many forms were common to the peoples of Central Italy which presently disappeared from Latin and were retained only among the Samnites and other Sabellians; but the example given above may be regarded as pure Latin in its most ancient form after the introduction of writing.

The original of the upper line contains at least three characters which subsequently disappeared. These we may regard as either a part of the primitive Latin alphabet, or else foreign characters which at that time were incorporated for convenience. The first of these archaïc letters is ꟻ for R, the second is the substitution of I for Z, and the third is the old *koppa* ϙ for Q. To this we may add another peculiarity, which is the giving of a fifth stroke to the letter M—thus, 𐌑.

Preservation of examples of antique Latin.

We have spoken above of certain examples of antique Latin which the Roman authors themselves preserved by copying into their works. Thus did Varro in his treatise, *De Lingua Latina*. He repeats two fragments from the *Carmina Saliaria*, which have been regarded as the oldest extant fragments of the primitive speech of Latium. But they are now known to be so much corrupted with foreign elements that the first place ought to be given to the inscription which we have quoted above. The Twelve Tables which contained the laws of Old Rome, memorable in the history and tradition of the jurisprudence of all modern nations, were written originally in the speech which we are here considering; and it may be regarded as a misfortune to the science of language as well as to archæology that the original tables and all the earlier copies of the same have perished. We are therefore left to consider not the linguistic forms in which the laws were originally written, but only modernized expressions of the same as they were afterwards transcribed in the later and classical ages. By this means all the interesting archaïc elements were eliminated

from the original tables, merely their meaning being preserved in modern translations. Each age produced its own rendition of the famous statutes.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.
From the painting by A. von Werner.

In the bilingual transcript made above we may see clearly the deterioration of the vowel sounds of the Latin language. Those who are acquainted with even the elements of Latin and Greek will readily perceive that the elder tongue has virtually preserved the Greek vowels, while in the standard Latin they have been sharpened into that shrill and piping quality which we have already remarked. Thus *deivos* has become *divis*, *qoi* is *qui*, *nci* is *nc*, *manom* is *manum*, *cnoim* is *enim*, etc. The rich diphthongs of the original have sunk into simple vowels, and the latter have flattened through one or two degrees of deterioration.

Deterioration and sharpening of the Latin vowels.

The beginning of the second epoch in the evolution of the Latin language, that is, the literary epoch, was nearly coïncident with the conquest of Greece by Rome. Ennius died in 169 B. C., and the capture of Corinth by Mummius, with the consequent conversion of all Greece into a Roman province, took place in 146 B. C. Already for nearly a century the intercommunication between the two peoples by peace and by war had been almost constant; and while Greece felt more and more the weight of the iron arm stretched out of the west, so Rome felt more and more

Historical relations of the second linguistic epoch.

the subtle infections of Greek thought, the influences of the art and learning of those whom they conquered.

Meanwhile, for centuries the same fine infection had been going on from the side of Magna Græcia. The culture of the Greek cities in Southern Italy had moved northward like the snow line of spring retreating before the returning sun, and had penetrated with its warmth and light the towns of the Umbrians, then the Latin cities, and finally those of the Oscans. But the great metamorphosis took place rather suddenly, about the middle of the second century B. C., and may be said to date from the poems of Ennius.

If we look at the merely physical changes by which the linguistic evolution was effected, we shall find them to have been principally the shortening and corruption of the vowel sounds as above noted; second, the dropping of the consonants with which Latin words had formerly terminated; and thirdly, the forcing back by rule of all Latin accents to a position as remote as possible from the ultimate. The shortening of the vowels was particularly noticeable in the final syllables of words and in the reduction of all diphthongs to a simple vocalic character.

Various features of the linguistic changes.

The dropping of final consonants was in obedience to the Greek principle which required as many open vowel sounds at the close of words as could

PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO.
From the painting by A. von Werner.

be obtained in that position. It was an effort to produce in Latin something of the musical quality for which Greek was so noted. Doubtless the Roman literary folk of the last century of the republic sought to imitate the "open close" of Greek words, and to this end threw away, wherever it was practicable to do so, the firm final consonants with which their own primitive language had abounded.

CATO AND PORCIA.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

As to the falling back, or forcing back, of the accents from the last syllables of words, it is difficult to determine by what principle the same was effected. While the Greek language preferred an early accent, that is, an ictus on one of the first syllables of the word, it also freely retained an accent on the ultimate. It seems that Latin in its literary evolution adopted the first of these principles and rejected the other. At any rate, the linguistic change from the old to the new form of Latin had not proceeded far until the rule was fixed that no word in the language should henceforth bear an accent on the last syllable.

Recession of Latin accent from the ultimate.

One of the main features of the change from the old to the classical Latin was the general reduction of the *quantity* of syllables. The whole tendency was toward the shortening of vowels and the consequent multiplication of the number of syllables called "short" in prosody. This change is one that is common to all languages in certain stages of their evolution. Primitive peoples are of a slow temperament, and their speech partakes of the general intellectual character. The tongue dwells long upon each syllable as though it were a separate word. But with the rising heats of national life the tongue quickens its pace in common with the other nervous phenomena of the human animal, and in order to quicken it the vowels must be abbreviated and flattened. It becomes desirable to pass lightly over many short syllables, giving accent and quantity to only a few, on which emphasis is demanded.

Process of reducing the quantity of syllables.

The degree of nervous excitability in any people can be invariably measured by the prevalence or absence of long quantities and heavy accents on the syllables of the language spoken. At the very top and extreme of this tendency to abbreviation and lightness stands modern French. The airy, accentless quality of French is as truly exponential of the nervous state of the people who speak it—that ultimate evolution of the Gaulish race—as was the broad-jawed, deep-throated speech of the Anglo-Saxons, slow and ponderous, the true index of the sluggish and heavy intellectual action of our barbarian Teutonic ancestry. The old Latin possessed all the baritone elements of the tribal language from which it was descended, but the literary Latin moved forward under the influences of Greek culture and imitation into a more rapid and elegant form of utterance.

Relations of utterance to the nervous tension in man.

The change in question was effected between the middle of the third and the close of the second century B. C. It began with the writings of Nævius and Plautus, was carried rapidly forward by Ennius, and was perfected by Cato, Terentius, Pacuvius, Accius, and finally Lucilius. With the latter author the change into the true literary form may be said to have been complete. The refinements of the language, however, belonged to the next, or so-called Golden Age of Latin letters. This began with Varro and Cicero, and ended with Ovid and Livy. Chronologically speaking, the period extended from the beginning of the first century B. C. to the first quarter of the first century A. D. Within these limits are embraced those great classics which exemplify the character of the Latin tongue in its best estate. But immediately after this greatest development we discover the premonitory symptoms of decay. Hardly was the empire established until not only the decline in literary work, but the deterioration of the language itself became manifest. Suetonius has given an account of the conversation of Augustus, and has preserved a long list of the plebeian and vulgar words which that imperial personage was wont to employ. As the court does, so do the imitators of the court.

Beginning and culmination of the literary epoch.

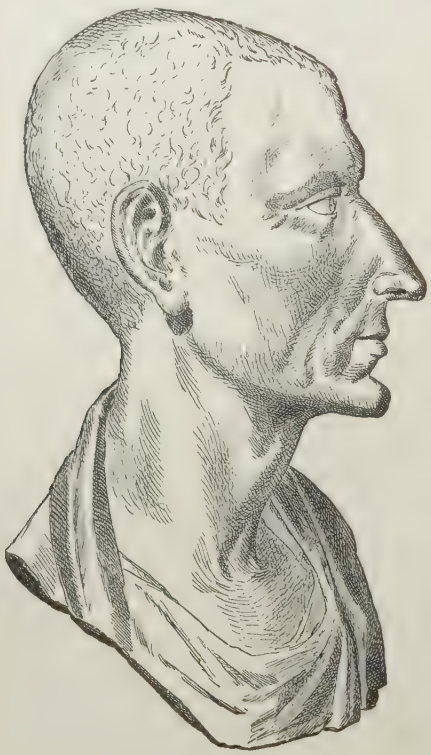
For a while Latin literature continued to be reputable. Through the period known as the Silver Age the language was written with tolerable purity. Seneca, Persius, Petronius, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Juvenal are the great representatives of the literature of the early empire, and their works are the mirror of the linguistic changes which were in progress.

Representatives of Latin literature in the Silver Age.

As is known to all, the language along with the literature reached its maximum of variety and power in the latter years of the republic, and in the hands of Cicero. We should not be far wrong to couple with his name the name of Julius Cæsar. For in reality the Latinity of the latter, though much more restricted in its scope, is scarcely inferior to that of the greatest of the Roman orators. From the fact that Cicero, as a writer of orations, as an essayist, as a philosophical commentator upon the affairs of his own age, and as a critic of literary productions in general, reached the high-water mark in the literature of his race, it has become customary to measure the divergence of all other Latin productions from the Ciceronian standard as by so much a departure from the

Establishment and perpetuation of the Ciceronian standard.

highest linguistic literary form of which the language was capable. With the virtual reduction of the Roman senate to the rank of an advisory body under the empire, the orator's vocation was gone; and since the orator had in the days of republican glory constituted the leading figure in the state, the highest type of citizenship, his decline marked



CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

a corresponding decadence in literary production.

If we turn to note the actual circumstances by which the Latin of the Golden Age was degraded and finally destroyed, we shall find, first of all, that the ruin was effected by the introduction of foreign words and idioms. We have seen how Rome brought back to Italy all manner of products from all manner of states and countries. Among these was a portion of the language and the thought of the conquered peoples. They yielded to Rome, and sent her a revenue of corruption. In the age of imperial vice the great men of the Cæsarean system became infected with foreignisms. They began to cultivate the fashions, manners, and to a certain extent the speech, the accent, and the literary styles which they had caught from other peoples, especially the Greeks.

Circumstances leading to the corruption of the language.

The infection in the next place passed into the grammar and rhetoric of the language. The precise framework of construction which the classical authors had employed with such force and elegance was neglected, and the true grammatical fittings of the language fell away. Many efforts were made by Roman scholars to check the process and dam up the sluices of waste; but their work was unavailing. After the age of the Antonines it can not be said that pure Latin was ever spoken or written except by scholars who cultivated it as a mere literary vehicle. The Ciceronian standard had gone down hopelessly before the assaults of foreign influence and internal decay.

We may pause for a moment to look at a few salient features of Latin, such as strongly discriminate the language from others of Aryan descent. As we have said, it was the best example furnished by ancient tongues of arrested linguistic development. This was shown in an especial manner by the poverty of Latin in the way of particles. There was a fair assortment of conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs, and prepositions; but the particle element had none of the abundance and delicacy displayed in Greek, or even in several of the modern languages. In rendering Greek into Latin the student is perpetually surprised by the dropping away of the untranslatable

Lack of particles in the Latin tongue.

parts of the former. Latin had neither a definite nor an indefinite article. The noun stood alone, with no indication as to whether it should be used in a general, an abstract, or a definite relation. *Puer sequitur patrem* was literally "Boy follows father." The meaning was: "The boy follows his father," "The boy follows the father," "A boy follows a father," "A boy follows the father," or any other of the varying general or specific propositions which may be evolved out of the three principal words. There was not the slightest indication as to which of the senses was intended. In fact, so blunt and indiscriminative was the Latin mind that the differences in thought, to which we have referred, had evidently not been discerned; else we might reasonably have expected that in the highly elaborated literature produced by the race some signs of such mental discrimination would have appeared in the language. This is all the more marvelous when we reflect that the Greeks, by the use of their articles and their indefinite pronouns, had, centuries before, devised a scheme for the careful distinction of the various thoughts referred to.

Strong development of the language in demonstratives.

While the paucity of the particles and the absence of articles in Latin left the language like a tree stripped of its foliage, the speech was nevertheless strong in demonstration. By this we mean that these elements of language which modern grammarians call demonstrative pronouns, were largely developed and exact in sense. Not Greek itself was more perfect in what may be called the *pointing out* of things than was Latin. The close framework of Latin grammar, the unequivocal meaning and back references of the parts were largely effected by means of those unmistakable words, *hic*, *is*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*, driven like iron pins through the syntax with a force and precision which bound the whole heavy sentence into a colossal unity.

Philosophy of the compound element in human speech.

The Latin tongue as compared with Greek was weak in composition; that is, in the free production of compound words. The wonderful facility with which the Greek author could put together the roots of many words, forming a compound expressive of the most complex idea, was wanting in the Latin tongue. Lord Bacon has pointed out the fact that the artistic and imaginative peoples cultivate the compound element in speech, whereas the practical races prefer simple and concrete verbal forms. To the latter type belonged the Latin. Its power of combination was kept within very narrow limits. The large dimensions of Latin words must be referred to the colossal root-elements which were indigenous to the language rather than to ease of combination.

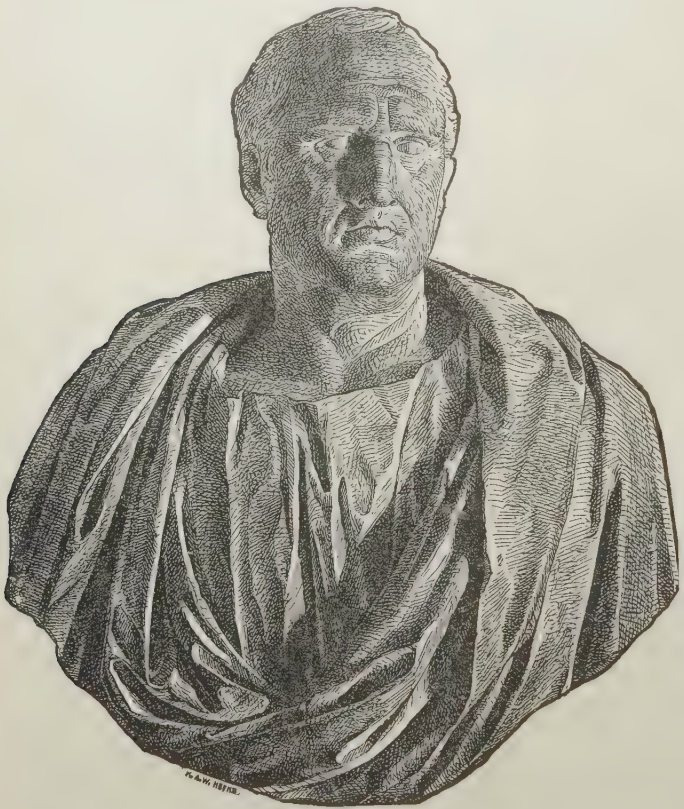
Severe aspect and practical character of Latin.

This predominance of the simple and concrete over the artistic and imaginative quality of language gave to all Latin writings a realistic turn and an exactitude of expression in strict analogy with the character of the Roman race. The Latin vocabulary was expansible only to a slight degree. The language never showed the quality of spontaneous generation as did the Greek. It stopped short with a brief and masculine outbranching, putting on no gaity of efflorescence. There was that in the genius of the tongue which resented even the introduction of foreign elements. Such importations were not readily incorporated, or at least not readily assimilated, with the native structure of the language. Foreign words floated around in the stream of Latin speech, but they were

as oil to water. The foreign flavor, the alien aspect remained in all such parts of the language as were brought from abroad, and continued to testify of their extraneous character.

The polysyllabic framework of Latin words and the scarcity of diphthongs by which the vocalic elements were reduced in number, and the fixity of the accent on one of two syllables only in every Latin word, gave to the language a certain monotony. It was but little varied in utterance. That is, the tones were limited to a narrow range. But the very qualities which we have here cited added weight and dignity, gravity and sonorousness to an unequaled degree. It is for these characteristics that the Latin tongue has been most celebrated in all subsequent ages as a vehicle of public utterance; not indeed for its argumentative capacity or its refinements or for its musical variety, but for the high-sounding strain and tremendous cadence of the periods.

Monotony of Latin; its sonorousness and dignity.



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.
Drawn by H. Volz.

The Latins themselves were not unacquainted with this element, this ponderous declamatory power in their speech. They were proud of the resonance of their orations, and gave more attention, perhaps, than any other people, with the possible exception of the Greeks, to the method and manner of delivery — to that elocutionary part which most peoples have considered of secondary importance. In the age of Cicero the sonorous quality of the language and its colossal constructive energies had been brought to the highest stage of perfection, and the roar of the orator's superlatives and gerundives as they resounded in a majestic swell to the close of the paragraph might well draw from the crowds in the forum an outburst of applause which no perfection of argument or vehemence of invective could have elicited.

Fondness of the Romans for sound and cadence.

The Latin language was distinguished above all other tongues of antiquity for its directness and force. Latin prose, such as it was under the stylus of Cæsar or Cicero, had a certain clearness and cogency and precision—to say nothing of the cadence of the periods and the billowy form of the sentences—which made it, par excellence, the language of business, of legislation, and of war. There was a concrete energy and lucid-

Directness, force, and concrete energy of the language.

ness of meaning and a directness of aim in every well constructed Latin paragraph which pointed unmistakably to the robust power, the vigor in action, and the continuity of purpose of that great race which issued by descent from the Albanian fathers and by locality from the walls of lofty Rome.

Latin speech an example of linguistic architecture.

Considered as the continent of thought, the Latin language was an architectural rather than a vital phenomenon. It was made, but grew not. Beginning with the subjective idea, or thought, the Greek sentence sprang up as the vital, visible, growing symbol of what the Greek mind would express. The thought within drew to itself what verbal elements soever were necessary to give complete and artistic embodiment to itself. The Greek sentence sprang, as it were, by visible expansion and outbranching from the ground of consciousness. It was the verbal emergence of Minerva. But in Latin it was a process of building—sheer building by force of masonry and skill of the masons. Here is the thought to be expressed. Here is the Latin language with which to express it. The problem is to construct a building that shall hold the thought, no more, no less. It may be a wall, a pavement, an arch, a column, a rampart, a façade, a whole temple, but the process is always architectural. The sentence is of vast and solid masonry. There is neither break in the stone nor crevice in the cement. It fits everywhere. There is no weakness, no flaw; for the square has been laid upon it, and the stonemason's hammer has brought the surface to perfection.

This Latin language became under the domination of Rome the medium of communication among the Mediterranean kingdoms. It was the vehicle of intercourse by which the tremendous will of Rome was carried out through provinces and states to the remotest borders of her dominion. There was in the language a quality of stately precision which rendered it in the highest degree a fit instrument for the diplomacy which Rome must needs conduct with the subject nations. At bottom there was even a deeper quality which made the Latin language the language of law, of lawmaking, of the application of law by those processes which had suggested themselves by experience to the Roman people.

A fit instrument for the diplomacy of the Romans.

It were difficult to explain how it is—or was—that principles of jurisprudence took on so easy and accurate a statement in the forms of the Latin language. Perhaps the explanation is found in the fact that that jurisprudence has been inherited by all the modern nations of Western Europe, and that the principles of the Roman law must needs have been coëxistent in their origin and coëxtensive in their development with the speech of the people. It might be that the principles which underlie the constitution of Asiatic empires could not find easy expression in Latin, but certain it is that the fundamental elements in the codes of all those kingdoms and states with which we are acquainted in the West flow naturally into the Latin mold, and are therein embodied in unmistakable forms.

Jurisprudence found in Latin a natural vehicle.

To understand the preponderance of the Latin tongue in all Europe during the Middle Ages, we must remember the extent and variety of the Roman political power before its failure in the fourth and fifth centuries. Rome had carried her conquests across the Alps and made her way northward to the Baltic and

Rome plants her language among the barbarian races of Europe.

westward to the British islands. Her legions had completed the circuit of Western Europe. The Spanish peninsula had of old time been hers. We have seen how various branches of the Aryan race had extended like wild vines into all the territories to which we here refer. Barbarian states had been established throughout the North and West.

VANDALS ON THE MARCH TO ROME.
Drawn by F. Schoenberg.

They had grown into power, and were really formidable antagonists even for the armies of Rome.

But all went down under the impact of the Roman legions. The territories of Europe west of the Rhine became provinces of the empire. Latin institutions were established, Latin usages promulgated, the Latin language and laws introduced among the conquered peoples. The reader of history is well acquainted with the means by which Rome sought everywhere to incorporate the conquered countries and to make them one with herself. One of the principal agencies which she adopted was the dissemination of her language Young barbarians of promise were seduced into her schools and taught the speech of the schoolmasters. In course of time Latin was thus disseminated throughout the North and West, as it had been already disseminated in the East.

Everywhere there was a mixture of the vernacular with the tongue of Rome. Each province began the development of a speech for itself, the bottom element and grammatical framework of which were Latin; but a large part of the vocabulary and mere verbal peculiarities of each were barbarian. Here we discover the undoubted antecedents of the so-called modern languages of Western Europe. The Franks learned Latin— learned it in their own way, modified its composition, changed its pronunciation, filled its vocabulary with new terms, and presently christened it *French*.

In what manner Romance languages emerge from Latin.

South of the Pyrenees native Gaulish

tribes, Iberians, Basques, and others handled in like manner the language which they had received from their conquerors, and *Spanish* sprang up as a dialect. *Provençal* also appeared in the south of France, under like conditions of barbarian admixture with the tongue of Rome. The Western peoples of Spain gave a peculiar development to the mediæval speech, producing in course of time *Portuguese* as another dialect of the original stock. Meanwhile, the Western empire had gone down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Lombards. More particularly the Goths had gained the ascendency in the central peninsula from which the Roman dominion had extended its iron arms in the days of power and glory. But Latin held its own against the rough jargon of the invaders. The composite process began, however, and resulted in the production of *Italian*. On the Danube a sixth and last evolution had taken place by the combination of another Germanic tongue with the Latin stem. Here in the province of Wallachia a variety of corrupted Latin was instituted which possessed the elements of growth and expansion out of which has sprung a modern language, the *Wallachian*, of considerable extent and influence in that quarter of Europe.

Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, and Italian spring up.

Surveying the whole field, we find no fewer than six principal tongues springing like waterspouts around the old stump of Latin, prodigious in dimensions and deep-rooted in centuries of time. These are Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Provençal, and Wallachian, several of which, as for instance the French, have branched into subvarieties, such as that Norman French of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, which was destined to give to our own ancestral tongue the greatest modification which it has ever received from any foreign source.

It is not purposed, however, in this connection to do more than intimate the vicissitudes of Latin and its distribution as a parent speech into the countries of Europe. It is more germane to the current inquiry to note the dissemination on these multifarious linguistic streams of the jurisprudence of the Roman race. Everywhere the laws of ancient Rome, her customs, her usages, her principles of political conduct, her methods of administering justice, her theories of the rational construction of civil society, were borne afar until they found lodgment among the remotest peoples of the West. Those influences, moreover, which were wafted by means of the Latin language into foreign parts, had in them the elements of perpetuity.

Laws and constitution of Rome borne abroad by Latin.

It was a severe and dubious task to attempt to account for the extreme pertinacity of Roman customs and laws, transplanted as they have been to distant shores and inhospitable climates; nevertheless, the fact remains. As we have said above, the very family which is the bottom unit of all society, as it is constituted among the nations of the West, is derived from Rome. The principles of its organization are fundamentally Roman, rather than Greek or Asiatic. The small facts of political organization, such as the township, the county, the oppidum, the urbs or city, every variety of municipal construction, are likewise deduced from Roman precedents. The process of making laws is Roman in every stage and every essential.

All features of Roman organization thus disseminated.

However varied may be the theo-

ries of modern society in countries some of which are monarchical, some aristocratic, some democratic, some republican, we find everywhere the same bottom constitution as it relates to legislative methods and the processes of law. The legislature, the commons, the upper house—whatever that may be—the checks between them, the process of election, the methods of organizing, the veto, the executive office, the court beyond—all, all are Roman in their origin and in their distinctive features. And underneath this vast structural system that has by its adaptabilities and, perhaps, its common sense been forced upon, or at least accepted by, almost every state of Europe and the New World, there flowed the river of Latin speech. It was on this stream that the ships which carried the institutional forms of the Roman republic into distant regions have been borne safely to their destination and moored in all the harbors of modern politics, from the Baltic to Gibraltar, from the Rhine to Ireland, from Hudson's bay to Uruguay, from the Atlantic coast to the sunlit valleys beyond the Sierra Nevada.

Prevalence of Roman forms throughout modern society.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE ARTS.

IN attempting to draw a realistic outline of the character and life of the Roman people, we shall in the next place consider their technology and their arts. Whoever has not carefully studied this subject, who has not reflected upon the data accessible until he has discovered the actual condition of Roman life and activity with respect to artisanship and art, must needs be surprised, astounded, at the revelation which awaits him. Among no people of the ancient or modern world, with the possible exception of the Greeks, was there a greater superficial manifestation of constructive energy, of intellectual and executive grandeur, than among the Romans; and yet the appearance was specious in the last degree. It was superficially drawn from the aspect of things, and not from their essential nature. The Romans were, in brief, *the least creative* of all the great peoples with whom they competed for predominance in the ancient world. It might almost be truthfully said that they created nothing. But at the same time it must be allowed that they constructed everything. It is with this fundamental difference between creation and construction clearly in his mind that the reader must approach the consideration of all the outer, and more particularly the artistic, manifestations of the Roman genius.

The Romans the least creative of the great peoples.

It would appear that the whole power of the Roman race flowed into a few simple qualities, such as strength, adaptive capacity, working force, and the constructive concept with respect to both men and things. For the Romans were as much the builders of political society as they were the builders of aqueducts and roads and temples; as much the masons of human life as of the Appian Way and the Coliseum. So powerful was the flux of the whole Roman nature in the direction of the

Constructive capacity of the race; want of ideality.

THE APPIAN WAY, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

tangible activities here referred to that nothing remained for the imagination, the fancy, the poetic flight. The Romans were the least inspired of all the great peoples of the world. The fact is that inspiration was to them a *word*, and not a *thing*. They were capable of the intensest excitement, but of no enthusiasm. They had all the realistic faculties in excessive development, but were strangers to ideality. The very slumbers of the race were overshadowed with the actual, and the Roman's dreams were visions of the forum, of the copper mine, of the legion marching, of stonemasons building an aqueduct, and of a flood in the Tiber.

The practical issue of these subjective traits in the Roman race was that from the first the men of Romulus borrowed everything and invented nothing. A modern witticism has gained currency to the effect that the French nation has not invented anything except the right of insurrection. Taking the witticism seriously, we might find its origin in that greater race from which the French are descended. The Romans invented not, but sought from the inventions of others to appropriate such elements as might conduce to their own benefit and renown.

The Romans borrowed all and invented nothing.

Should we glance into Latium about the mythical times of the founding of the republic, we should see on the hillsides, half-cleared of the original woods, the hut of the Latin farmer. His home was typical of all the rest. It was rudely built of wood or stone, with little attention to elegance of structure or tastefulness of situation. It was only after Rome was founded and contact with the Etruscans had made the people familiar with the architecture of the latter race that a better style of building was introduced. For centuries together the Etruscan masons and architects were necessary to the progress and development of the city. Every great work required this foreign skill for its conception and execution. Strange spectacle to see the Roman patrician victorious over the superior people north of the Tiber and compelling them to build and adorn his city!

The Etruscans bring architectural skill to Rome.

RUINS OF ROMAN AQUEDUCT—ALBAN HILLS IN THE DISTANCE.—Drawn by F. Preller.

From Cyprus, from Phœnicia, from Carthage, from Ionia, and Greece the primitive Etruscans had brought to the Western peninsula the rudiments of skill in construction and in art. These elements were combined by the genius of the people, and considerable progress was made toward the creation of an Ital-

The conquerors drain the countries of the Mediterranean.

ian architecture different from that of the East. It were vain to conjecture to what this tendency might have reached but for the domination of Rome. Certain it is that the architectural skill of the older people had expanded into fair proportions before the days of Romulus. It was the historical contact of the Latins with the builders of Veii, Volsinii, and Falerii that gave the first impetus to building in Rome and throughout Central Italy. The old Sabellians had also made some progress in architecture at a very early period, and from them also the Latins gathered both the knowledge of the building art and its practice.

At the first the people of Latium had no temples. no effigies of their gods. They were indebted for the introduction of these symbols of religion to the Etruscan artists. The first temples built in Rome were designed and erected by foreigners, and it was the mid-epoch of the republic before the plan of the Roman temples and their principal features passed from the Etruscan to the Grecian type of architecture. The old temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built and adorned by Etruscan architects. The *Quadriga*, or four-horse clay chariot, with which the pediment of the temple was adorned, was executed by Volcanius, an artist from Veii. He also produced the clay statue of Jove which stood in the interior.

Romans dependent on Etruscans for their first temples.

But, as we have said, Etruscan art, properly so called, was far behind the strictly architectural development of the people. The oldest images and vases recovered from primitive Rome have all the features of the corresponding works found in Etruria. The bad drawing, the disproportion, the crude coloring, and

BACCHIC VASE OF ETRUSCAN PATTERN.
Drawn by Charles Goutzwiller, from a photograph.

the staring expression of fright with which the faces of the images are disfigured all bear evidence that Rome had neither art nor architecture of her own. As soon as intercourse was established with Greece the discrepancy between the rude work done by the Etruscan foreigners in Rome and that of the Hellenic artists was discovered; and as early as the days of Servius Tullius importations of skill and of actual art works began from the Greek cities.

Rudeness of the primitive arts of both peoples.

Meanwhile the solid basis of Old Rome was laid by the Etruscan artisans. The huge stones, many of which are still unmoved from their ancient foundations, had been put in place as a fitting concrete upon which to rear the glory of the future city. By the middle of the fifth century B. C. the passion of the Romans for honoring their great men with statues was displayed, though not at first in full force. It became customary to set up in the streets of the city memorials to such of the great men of the race as had distinguished themselves in battle or in the senate. But the work could not be done by Roman hands. They had power, but no skill. Such statues were imported from abroad, from Greece; and in course of time the artist himself was imported likewise. What Rome could

Dependence on Greece for memorials and statues

ROMAN SHIP, WITH GRAPPLING IRONS.—From Trajan's Column, Rome.

not produce she could command; and what she could command she ordered.

Emergency compels invention; shipbuilding lags.

On every side we discover, even from the primitive ages, the unoriginative character of the Roman people. The ideal and creative faculties of mind were wanting in the race to such an extent that originality, or what is called somewhat vaguely by the name of genius, was virtually an unknown quantity. What we have said of the early dependence of Latium upon Etruria and Magna Græcia for the elements of art and artisanship may be repeated of the middle age of republican Rome. Sometimes in an emergency the Romans were driven by sheer stress of circumstances to produce for themselves, but the effort was laborious in the last degree. When any such contingency arose, it was evident that the work was looked upon by its producers as something marvelous. Certainly it should not be thought wonderful that the Romans should be shipbuilders. There the peninsula lay fairly projecting far between two placid seas. To east and west the Mediterranean constituted an easy thoroughfare to all the surrounding kingdoms. As we have said, the absence of harbors on the Italian coast might account for the backwardness of the race in maritime adventure, but could not wholly explain the absence of shipbuilding skill among the great people who had arrogated to themselves and had taken by conquest the right of governing all Italy.

Slow production of Roman fleets; the grappling hooks.

The student of history will recall the fact that at the outbreak of the Punic Wars the great advantage of the Carthaginians over the Romans lay in the possession of fleets and a marine soldiery by the former, and the absence of the same on the side of the Romans. More particularly he will recall how at the epoch of the second Punic War the Romans roused themselves to compete with their enemies on the sea, and how they were driven to seek a model for a war ship in the wreck of a Carthaginian vessel accidentally driven ashore by the storm. The unskill, too, of the Romans in their management of ships in the ensuing war was conspicuous. But though the race could not invent, it could learn. It was not long after the first fleet had been created until the Roman sailors were a terror even to the sea veterans of Carthage.

Even in the details of such matters the same wonder is expressed by the Romans in their occasional contrivance of some effective thing. Remember the grappling hooks. The thing in itself was not a prodigy. It was certainly no stroke of genius to observe how easily one ship might be bound to another in battle, allowing the soldiers to pass from deck to deck, until the issue of the fight might be decided by such prowess as the legion displayed on land. In such an emergency the grappling hook would suggest itself to the dull brain of a common blacksmith. But when Rome invented for herself this clumsy, but effective, contrivance of holding fast her enemy's ship, it was reckoned so mighty a work of genius that it passed into history and song as one of the triumphs of the race.

The Romans wonder at the skill of other races.

In all departments of artisanship the same backwardness of adaptation appeared. It was only under the compulsion of some necessity that the Romans showed themselves capable of producing the commonest contrivances. They looked with wonder upon the multifarious industries which were plied in the countries and by the peoples

whom they conquered. It was almost a barbarian sentiment with which this vigorous, warlike race contemplated at first the splendor of achievement which was discovered in Greece. But it was in the nature of Rome to discern advantage, and to gather even from the ends of the earth all things and processes soever that might benefit herself. quering Italy. Historians and moralists have been wont to call Rome a robber. It was appropriation as much as robbery with which she enriched herself. It is true that she transferred the actual properties of all foreign states with which she came into contact to her own dominions. In this she simply adopted and applied the war code of the ages in

ROMAN BAKERY, RESTORED.—Drawn by W. Friedrich, from the original at Pompeii.

Knowledge of practical arts imported from alien races.

If we could at this late day enter the shops and manufactories of Rome, and had we in the meantime acquainted ourselves with the nature and extent of the industries which were prosecuted by the Eastern peoples from the fourth century B. C. to the third A. D., we should be amazed to see how completely such industries had been transplanted to conwhich she flourished. But to transfer an invention, a contrivance, a method of industry, a means of accomplishing something—in short, an art, whether industrial or polite—was to appropriate rather than to rob. Such gathering up from foreign nations of their skill, their inventions and arts, did not deprive those nations of the right to continue their industries and artisanship as be-

fore, but merely weakened them by the diffusion of their special powers into a foreign state.

Rome first gathers and then distributes civilization.

In all this we are able to discover a striking example of what has been frequently seen in the history of the world, namely, the evidence of a general civilization through all time, all countries, and all conditions by successive special contributions of each people in its turn. May we not discern the agency which Rome is now to exercise in diffusing to every part of the Mediterranean regions, and ultimately to all Europe and to the Western world at large, by means of her greatness and the avenues of her power, all the local results which she had gathered from the various races with which she had come into contact? Rome was destined to scatter what may be called the physical apparatus of civilization and a civil organic structure, just as Greece had been destined to diffuse the light of learning and the beauties of art to the ends of the world. It is by such gatherings up and subsequent dispensations of civilizing elements that all the nations of the world must ultimately be enlightened and brought from barbarism into the civilized estate.

Ability to build the strongest trait of Roman genius.

Since one of the three principal means of maintaining human life in the earth is shelter, and since all architectural achievements may be said to spring from this simple necessity which bears upon the primitive state of man, we may expect to find in every powerful state an architectural element of vast importance. If we look at that of Rome, we shall discover a most striking example of the nature and extent of the dependence of the people upon foreign artists and artisans for their achievements. If in any part of the industrial and artistic life of the Roman people they may be said to have invented, it was in architecture. In so far as invention consists in the combination and development of existing elements, the Romans did, to a certain extent, devise new methods of structure and new styles of building. In several particulars we find in Rome —even in primitive Rome—the evidences of important departures from the prevailing methods in the architecture of the East and South.

Evolution of the arch as an element in structure.

Take, for instance, the *arch* as an element of structure. It was thought for a long time that the Egyptians were entirely ignorant of the value and applications of this device. Recent investigations have tended to show, however, that at a very ancient period the builders of Egypt had some knowledge of the arch, but that for reasons which do not sufficiently appear, it was not employed by the great builders who produced the granite wonders of the Egypt of the Pharaohs. Neither were the Greeks acquainted with the arch—or, if acquainted at all, such knowledge was here again referable to a very early period. The entrance to the treasure-house of Atreus, uncovered by the workmen of Schliemann in our own generation, is a pointed arch; but the later works of the Greeks did not perpetuate this element of building. On the whole, it may be safely conjectured that there was something in the arch which offended the severe taste of the Egyptian and Grecian builders, and that for this reason it disappeared wholly from their styles.

In Rome we have the same early appearance of the arch; but here it was retained and developed, and ultimately transmitted to modern Europe. The Cloaca Maxima, to which we have fre-

quently referred, is an enduring proof that the arch was known and skillfully employed in Italy at a very remote period. It thus remained for the Romans to adopt, perpetuate, amplify, and improve a principle of architecture which had been known, but rejected, by the Egyptians, the Greeks, and even by the Assyrians. If the reason above assigned for the rejection of the arch by the Greeks be correct, we may discover also the reason of its retention by the Romans. The latter people were not likely to sacrifice *strength* for *beauty*. So valuable an element of structure as the arch once introduced would be retained and expanded with a view to permanency and strength, notwithstanding its rejection by the finer taste of the Eastern builders.

The arch adopted and perfected by Roman builders.

OLD ETRUSCAN MASONRY—MOUTH OF CLOACA MAXIMA AT THE TIBER.
Drawn by R. Puttner.

Such facts as that to which we here refer may sometimes appear of minor importance to the reader of history; but not so. Observe how the fact in question enters into the whole civil polity of the Roman republic and the empire. One of the means by which Roman authority is to be disseminated and maintained in its integrity, even to the borders of Europe and as far east as the Euphrates, is the construction of roads. The student knows well how far from Rome her great thoroughfares were carried. He knows how those imperial highways were built, how broad and straight they were, how they were paved with immovable stones, how the roadway was graded across hills and valleys and over roaring rivers, to the end that the legions of the republic might march forth with clanging tread, and return when the war was over with ease and expedition and proper triumph to the central city.

Relation of the arch to the civilization of the Romans.

But how should Rome carry her great roads across valleys and lowlands and over rapid rivers?—how, but by means of tremendous causeways supported by the arch? As matter of fact such were the means adopted; and at this day in many parts of Europe the remains of the tremendous energies displayed in the Roman roads testify to the wisdom of the builders in the employment of the arch as an element of the greatest durability and strength. The very same thing was done in constructing those enormous and everlasting aqueducts with which Rome was wont to supply herself with wholesome water. By Rome we do not mean the capital city only, but all of the great

Evidences throughout Europe of Roman structure.

cities which were brought under her sway, not only in Italy, but in the East, and also north of the Alps. It is the exception for the modern traveler not to find in connection with the sites of the ancient imperial cities of Southern Europe the ruins of one of those mighty aqueducts through which in times of Roman grandeur the floods of fresh water poured a limitless supply into every metropolis—and every aqueduct was supported by the arch as its principal element of structure, as its main assurance of strength and durability.

ROMAN HIGHWAY AND RUINS OF CASTLE.—Drawn by Bocher, from a photograph.

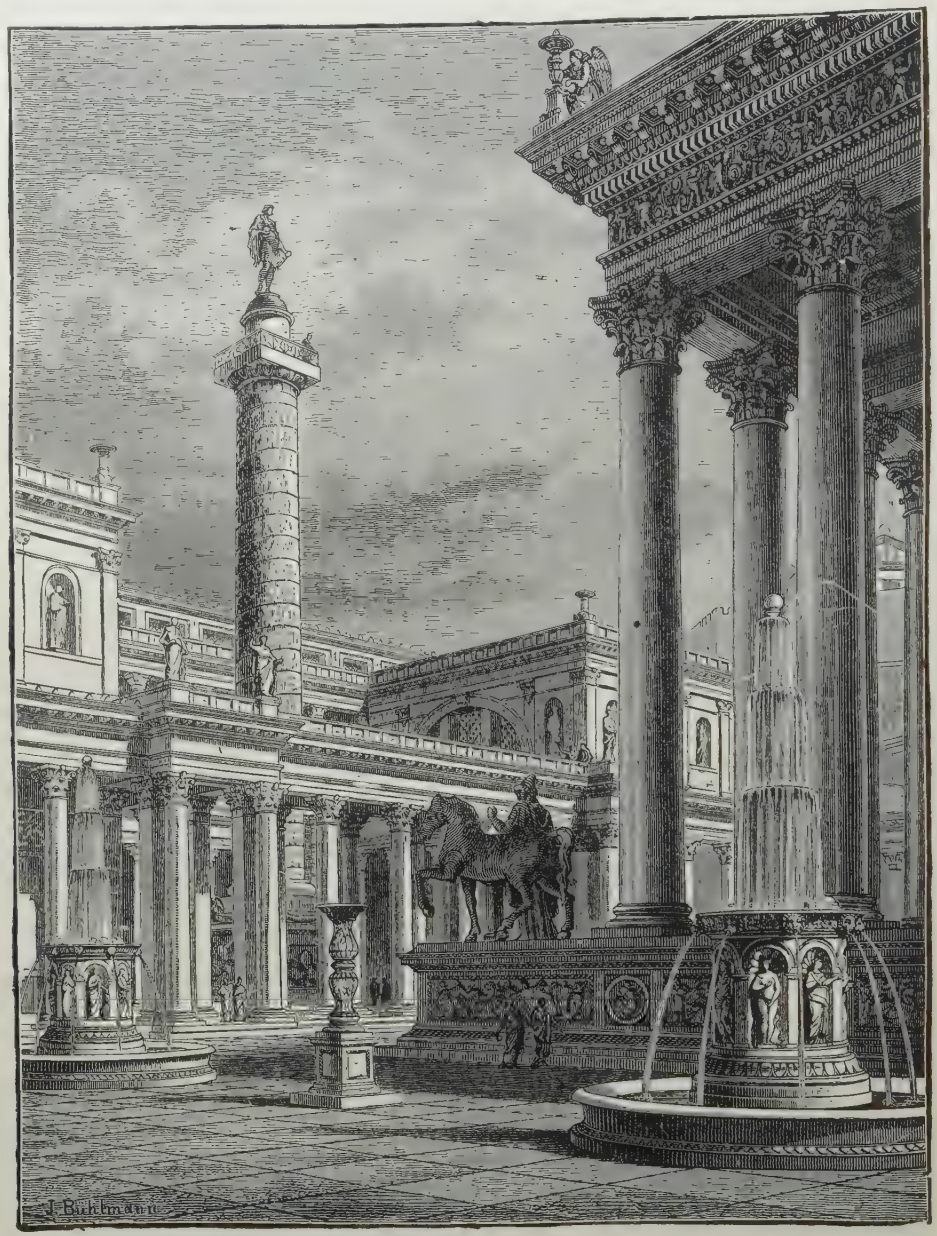
To this extent, then, the architecture of Rome may be said to have been original; but in all of its other leading particulars it was derived: derived first of all from the Etruscans. For from that people, in the beginning, the Roman style of building, mean and low, called Tuscan, was deduced. The primitive architects from beyond the Tiber carried over into Latium their ancient style, and this became for some centuries the prevailing type of structure in the city. To a certain extent the Roman builders modified, but can scarcely be said to have improved, the Tuscan style. The old theater of Marcellus at Rome, especially the lowest story, and the temple of Cora, forty miles distant, have preserved for modern inspection specimens of this oldest type of building.

Character and examples of the Tuscan style.

It has been claimed that the Tuscan itself was a degenerate form of Grecian architecture; that the architects of Etruria were unable to preserve the elegance and beauty of the original, but that they did preserve enough of the principal features to impose them on the Romans as their primitive style of structure. In course of time, however, the Romans, by war and other forms of intercourse, familiarized themselves with the Doric and Ionic architecture of

Greek architecture becomes the prevailing type.

Magna Græcia, and afterwards directly with the magnificent temples and other public buildings of the Greeks. From these sources were derived the elements in course of time Rome abounded with architects of her own race who were able to compete with the foreign builders. Now it was that the Corinthian



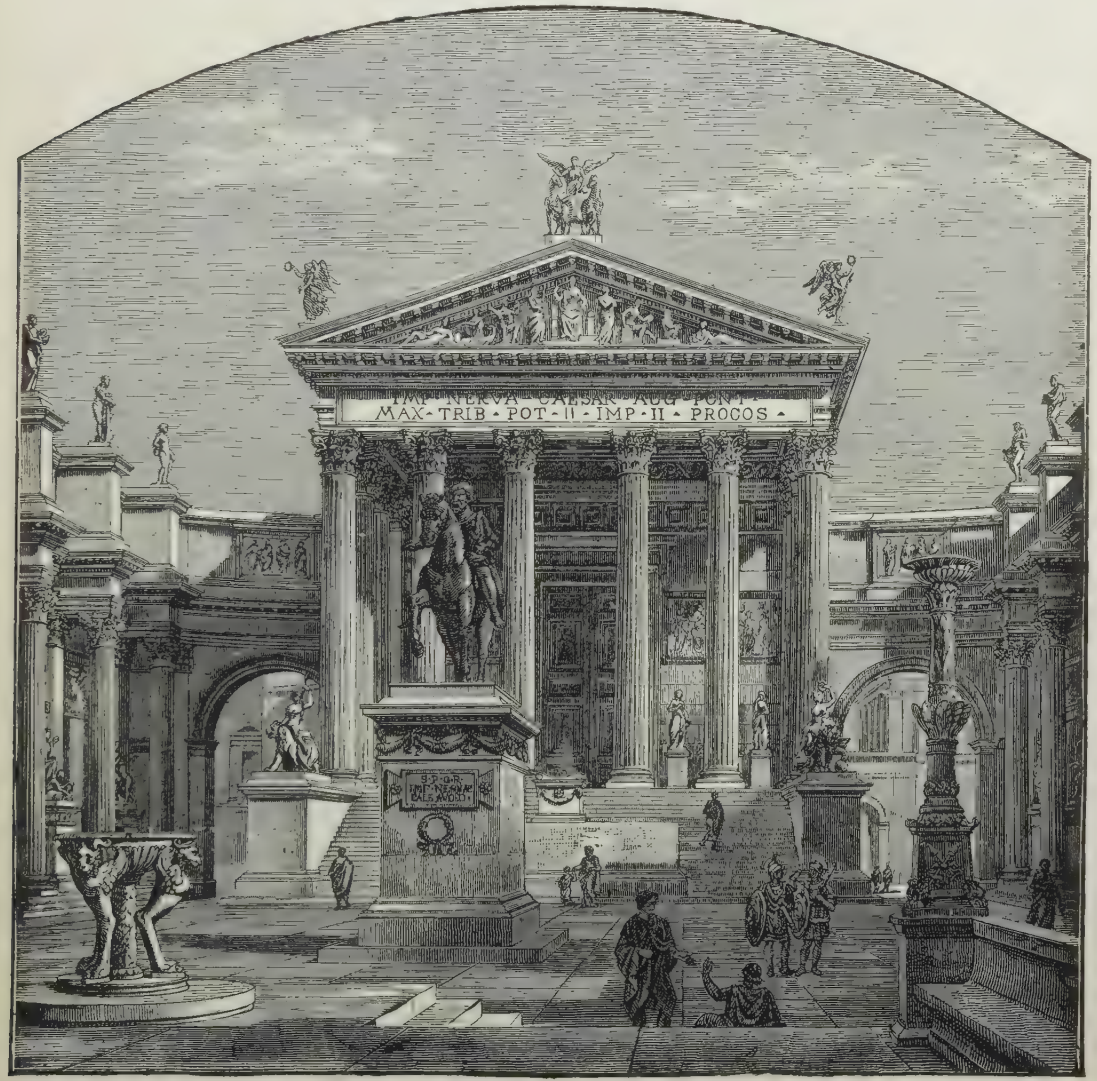
ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Forum and Column of Trajan, Restored.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

which were employed by the Roman builders. We may not suppose that the Romans remained dependent upon foreigners for the actual ability to construct. They were able to learn, and column was introduced in the West, and became ever afterwards the standard feature of the architectural monuments of Italy.

We might well pause to note briefly

the evolution of the column to its final efflorescence in the times of the Roman empire. It was a product of the genius of the Hamitic race; but the civilization of the Aryan nations brought it to perfection. So far as usefulness was concerned, the bottom idea of the column is a pillar of support, but its ideal element is derived from the tree. Out of these two fundamental concepts the whole development has taken place. In another part of the present work we shall see to what extent the column flourished in the hands of the Egyptians. In the preceding chapter we have noted its use and expansion in the hands of the architects of Greece. We have remarked the stages of the development from the plain Doric, massive and simple, into the Ionic, and finally into the Corinthian order, which was the limit of ornamentation permissible by the canon of the Greeks.

Evolution of columnar structure in Greece and Rome.



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Temple of Pallas, Restored.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

Hellenic taste was severe and chaste in all respects, but particularly in the

matter of structure. It sought for effect by simplicity and not by elaboration. In the very best ages of Greek building the Ionic style was the most ornate which was permitted by the classical tastes of the people. It will be conceded that the Romans merely adopted the column—accepted it, first from the hands of the Etruscans, and afterwards from the hands of the Greeks. But they accepted to modify. It is in dispute to the present day whether the Roman varieties of building are entitled to be called distinct styles. The type which they chose was the Corinthian, as being most ornate, therefore most befitting the luxurious tastes of the Roman people. But even the Corinthian style was not sufficiently elaborate to meet the demands of Rome. The Roman Corinthian became at once more highly efflorescent than any that had preceded it; and then followed what is known as the Composite style, in which ingenuity would fain torture from combination certain effects, particularly in the capital, more ornate and complicated than any that had preceded. It was in this composite order that the acme of columnar development was reached, but it was the acme of luxury and ornamentation rather than the acme of sound taste and beauty. These had been attained before. The chastity of the Greek column as exhibited in the Doric and Ionic was by its conversion into the Corinthian order changed to tawdriness and luxurious flummery; and these qualities, transmitted to after times, have entailed on modern Europe certain architectural vices from which she has not yet recovered.

High ornamentation the characteristic of Roman taste.

It was, then, the Corinthian order of architecture that the Romans cultivated and developed. There was a Roman Ionic order and also a Roman Doric, but neither was brought to any degree of perfection. In fact, as we have said, the Roman eye was unable to discover in the chaste proportions and simple beauty of the Doric and Ionic styles anything to satisfy—anything to please. It was from the basis of an already highly expanded Corinthian order that all the noted architectural evolution of the Roman race was effected.

The Corinthian order preferred by the Roman architects.

We are here speaking of architecture not as an objective fact, but as an exponent of the genius and taste of the Roman race. We are looking at it simply as an expression in form of the subjective concepts and intellectual capabilities of that great people. The reader must assist us by bearing in mind the fact that in ethnic history the objective forms of civilization are considered as merely so many tangibilities of the intellectual and moral powers of mankind. It is sought in all such studies to deduce by an inverted syllogism, the premises of which consist of the material aspects of civilization, certain valid conclusions with regard to the evolution of the human mind in different ages and conditions of the world.

Architecture an exponent of intellectual and moral states.

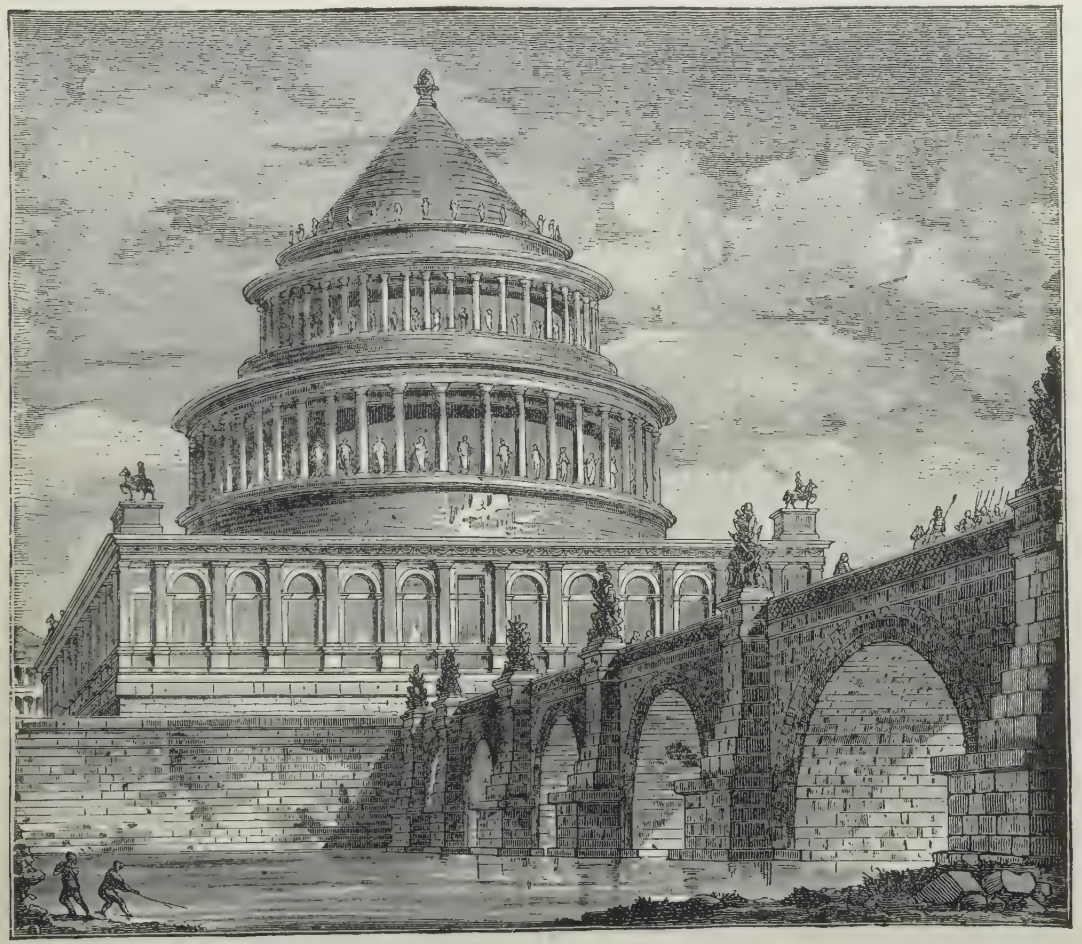
Nevertheless, it is occasionally of interest even in an ethnic history to note specific external facts as of peculiar interest in the general study. One of these facts upon which we might well dwell for a moment is the Roman column. Had the traveler from a distant land entered Rome in the days of imperial splendor, he should have seen one of the most magnificent and solidly built cities ever constructed by the human race. In this great mass of architecture, at least in all its grander parts, the predominant feature, the determin-

The Corinthian the predominant feature of classical Rome.

ing element, was this same Corinthian column, many times evolved into what was called the composite order, but always fundamentally the same. Into this column the genius of the architects of Rome and, as we have seen, much of the antecedent genius of two or three more intellectual races than the Romans had already entered. Its proportions and general character had been determined by a canon of criticism which in its turn had been produced by the added judgments of many artists in different lands. What, then, was the column which Rome brought to its most ornate development?

It was the principal or central feature in the front, or façade, of the great classical buildings of antiquity. It rested below upon a part of the structure called the stylobate, and bore above another part called the entablature. It was the peculiarity of Roman architecture that the stylobate, or base, of the front of the façade was of unusual height. In the triumphal arches which Rome was wont to erect in commemoration of great men and great events this feature is most pronounced. In such structures the stylobate has a height of four, or even five, diameters. In all such measurements the diameter of the column is taken as unity. In other buildings the stylobate

General character and analysis of the composite column.



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castle of Sant' Angelo), Restored.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

was only two and a half or three diameters in height. It consisted for the most part of a series of moldings forming a substantial base, from which the columns rose. There was sometimes a single or even double plinth under the base of the moldings, and on the coping there was what is called a "block course," on which rested the bases of the columns. The latter device was intended to lift the column at the bottom, so that the beholder standing in front of the edifice might see the entire length and height of the base and the shaft.

Special features and proportions of the column.

The column itself was divided into three parts: the base, the shaft, and the capital. The height bore a constant relation to the unit of measurement, being nine and a half or ten diameters. The base was generally a half diameter in height, consisting first of a square member, or plinth, and then of several members of a circular form, diminishing in breadth from the bottom. The base was the least conspicuous of all the parts, and was, perhaps, less varied in the hands of the Romans than any other member of the whole façade. The breadth of the base was greater than that of the column, having an extreme width ranging from a diameter and a third to a diameter and four ninths. The shaft of the column may be regarded as the principal member. It diminished regularly toward the top by one eighth of a diameter. It was fluted, or scalloped out, in semicircular grooves, having elevations between, which were called fillets. Each flute had four times the breadth of the fillet. The flutes of a column were almost invariably twenty-four in number, and were only omitted when the materials used would not admit of such treatment. When granite, porphyry, cipolin, and other substances of the kind were employed, as they were occasionally, the columns had a smooth exterior surface, being simply cylinders of dressed stone, tapering in the same ratio given above.

Parts and measurements of the capital.

The height of the capital was one and one eighth diameters. From this rule there was some variation, a few of the capitals being lower. The capital itself consisted of several members. Around the circumference were two rows, or bands, of acanthus leaves. In each row there were eight leaves placed side by side, branching outwards and not touching at the edges. This made each leaf cover three flutes in the column below. The leaves were arranged symmetrically with respect to the upper part of the capital and the entablature above. That is, the eye of the beholder, as he stood in front of the edifice, would discover an equal number of leaves on each side of the column. The top member of the capital, immediately under the entablature, was the abacus. It had a height of one seventh of the whole capital. The lower row of acanthus leaves had a height of two sevenths of the whole, and the second row had two thirds the height of the lower. Thus through all parts a principle of proportion, carefully determined by the experiences and artistic sense of ages, was extended; and though there were many departures in the details from the exact standard, the general proportions were invariably retained.

Roman mind and purpose revealed in architectural style.

In all this we are able again to discover something of that regularity, precision, and love of order for which the Roman mind had always been noted from its first emergence in the mythical ages. It was a characteristic that was carried instinctively into all the details of the practical arts as well as into the management of civil society. In fact, the principle

can not be too strongly enforced, that the life of a people is whole and consistent in all its ramifications and methods. It might not be pressing the inquiry too far to aver that an inconsistency in the life of a people is impossible—which is to say that when all the facts, the instincts, the peculiarities, the antecedents, the forces of the environment, the peculiar circumstances of development, and the extraneous influences to which a given people have been subjected are taken into consideration, no actual inconsistency can be discovered; no one circumstance in the national life be out of concord with all the rest.

ROMAN STRUCTURE—TEMPLE OF NERVA.
Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

Until the rise and expansion of Rome, a single leading fact had been apparent in all the architecture of the East, whether Hamitic, Semitic, or Aryan. This fact was the limitation of building to a few leading purposes. The structure was in some sense a public phenomenon. The Egyptians built temples and tombs. Besides these two varieties of architecture and their concomitants, it could scarcely be said that Egypt had an architecture. All private building was doubtless of so low, insignificant, and temporary a kind as to pass away with the age in which it arose. High above all private enterprise, however, towered the two great facts, the temple

Eastern building had respect to public uses only.

and the tomb; and the ruins of the one and the pointed summit of the other are still seen in the horizon of Northeastern Africa.

Semitic architecture looked to palaces and temples.

The Semitic races also had two principal forms of building: the temple and the palace. In some cases the one predominated, and in other countries the other. Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia limited their efforts to the construction of abodes for their gods and their kings. In the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris it would be impossible, as in the valley of the Nile, to discover even a hint of those private edifices which must have been a part of the common life. Great was the gap in all these countries between the almost imperishable structure of stone, grand in proportion and massive in masonry, and the small square earthen hovel in which the common lot held its career and exhibited its poor activities.

Greeks and Romans depart from Oriental standards.

This peculiar feature in the architecture of the East, its virtual limitation to temples and palaces and tombs, was carried westward by the migrating nations, and became under their patronage the characteristic of building in Asia Minor and in Greece. In the latter country there were already apparent certain signs of the new order—evidences that the range of structure was destined to extend to a greater variety of subjects. It remained for the Romans, however, to carry the principles of an enlarged and grand architecture into private buildings, and to vary the application of the building art to conform to the almost endless variety of edifices which a great and vigorous community must demand.

Structure is the continent of life. The body, in the first place, is the continent of the individual life. The house is the continent of the life of the family. So the principle may be carried upwards until we have for society a house. Moreover, the house must conform to its inhabitants. The shells of the *gasteropoda* are shaped to the humble people within. It is only a part of that universal consistency which extends through the whole domain of life and organism. In Rome the robustness of the common life demanded a form of structure almost as extensive and substantial relatively as were the buildings of the kings and the gods.

Structure to be regarded as the continent of life.

The reader must remember that kingship was presently abolished, utterly expelled from Roman society. With the disappearance of the king, with the flight of the Tarquin in that old mythical dawn, the king-house, the palace, also fled. The houses of the deities remained and continued to expand in proportion with the concepts of the people during the centuries of the republic. But the common life, the great social life, the patrician life, aye, finally the plebeian life itself, expanded also; and the habitation of this life, the dwelling place, the private edifice which represented the common lot of man in the West expanded also, and became varied in its forms and uses to a degree hitherto unknown among the nations of the Old World.

Rome becomes the leader in architecture for private uses.

Herein it is possible to discern the hidden depths of progress among the nations of antiquity. In the horizon of the extreme East the common life was in no wise differentiated. It was simply a mass, capable of action only under the foot of power. Hence the king in the pagan world rose and stood above the cowering multitudes. In those fecund

Empire and superstition had their thrones in the East.

valleys of Africa and Asia where civilization probably began, we see the spectral outlines of these two great facts, *empire* and *superstition*, rising like gigantic figures above the debased millions who toiled and suffered to maintain and glorify the very powers by which they were subjected.

It was out of this estate that the migratory movements of mankind began. The bolder spirits slipped from the domination and despotism of the old order, and drew after them the more progressive tribes in a movement to the West. The farther the movement extended the more completely did the common man escape from the old oppressions by which he had been reduced to servitude. As we have said, Italy was the West of the ancient world.

Migratory movements of mankind signify emancipation.

When the Aryan tribes poured into the peninsula they may have been savage enough in their manners, but they were also free. They had become individual, and we can see the inevitable form which the new social structure created by them would assume. There must needs be in such a society a tremendous common life, hostile to power, restless under any form of domination, expressing itself in every way as the leading social element of the state, and particularly compelling the architecture of the country in which it arose to do deference to the existence and wants of the common lot by extending, amplifying, and perfecting all the private structures requisite for the welfare of such a people and the maintenance of such a civilization.

We may accept this principle as lying at the bottom of the vastly varied architecture of the Roman race. It was the concomitant circumstance of the republic —of that patrician and plebeian form of life which would no longer brook the ascendency of absolutism, whether of an Oriental monarchy or a pagan superstition. We must not, however, suppose that the transformation was so extensive and complete and immediate as might be inferred from the foregoing description of the process. Here again, as ever, we must be on our guard against the too literal interpretation, the too exact application of literary description to the tangible facts of human society. Social processes are always incomplete. They are partial, not reaching the full logical results which would be expected from the exact deductions of the syllogism. The change in the architectural aspect in Rome from that of the East, the extension of the former to all manner of private buildings, was sufficiently striking; but it was not complete. To a certain extent the palace and the temple continued as the highest types of Roman architecture, just as they had been the only types in the architecture of Greece and of Asia.

Varied architecture implies differentiation of races.

The variation from the old restricted order of buildings extended, moreover, into the selection of materials. Egypt built simply of granite. It is to this circumstance and her rainless climate as much as to the perfection of her structure that the enduring character of her monuments must be referred. Greece opened her marble quarries, as we have seen, and drew from them the materials of her elegant and enduring architecture. The oldest building in Italy was that of the Etruscans, in their own country first, and afterwards in Latium. The building also which was practiced in Magna Græcia had stone masonry as its bottom fact. The temples of the south were generally of marble, and the

The Romans vary the selection of building materials.

materials for the primitive structures of Rome and Etruria were drawn from the rock quarries of the country. But with the progress and expansion of the Roman race the principle of variation as to the intent and application of buildings was carried into the selection of materials; and henceforth all manner of building substances were freely employed in the architecture of Italy.

ble; and the exposed parts of most of the private buildings, especially the fronts, were also of stone. But the general appearance of universal stone and marble work must be referred to the stucco with which the exterior surface of the buildings was covered. Underneath this covering were the real materials, and these were by no means exclusively from the stone quarries.

THE FORUM AT ROME IN PRESENT CONDITION.

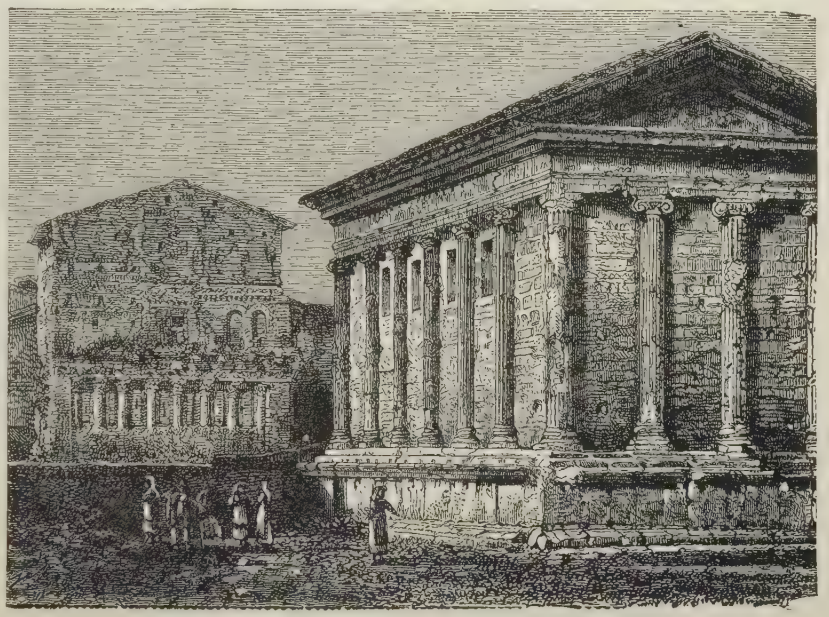
A great popular misapprehension exists in this respect. It is customary to speak of republican Rome, of imperial Rome, as a stone-built and marble-built city. The illustrations which modern art have created of the imperial city represent it as a magnificent array of stone and marble. Of course, such materials did abound. It was the usage of the architects to construct the façades of the palaces and villas of mar-

Extensive use of stone and marble in Roman buildings.

As matter of fact, brick building was greatly in excess of stonework and structure of marble. The aqueducts, palaces, villas, baths, and temples of Rome were nearly all built of brick so far as their principal parts were concerned. If we glance at the ruins of the Eternal City we shall find a few columns and friezes of marble or granite, but no more. Some of the remaining ancient buildings are of a variety of

Bricks also largely employed in leading edifices.

stone called *travertine;* but the prevailing ruin is of brick. Of the stone just referred to, the travertine, the Coliseum was built, as was also the mausoleum of Hadrian. The temple of Fortuna Virilis was of the same material, and so were those famous ancient bridges which spanned the Tiber. The columns of the Pantheon, both external and internal, are of marble, as are also the exposed parts of the arches of Titus and Constantine. The two great columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aureliusare also of marble; but the palace of the Cæsars was constructed, in all its major parts, of bricks. The Pantheon, too, with the exceptionof the colonnade, was built of the same material, as were also the temples of Peace, of Venus, and of Minerva.



TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS AND HOUSE OF RIENZI.
Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

Many times the walls, and especially the fronts of the edifices, were faced with marble or freestone from the Italian quarries. The great baths to which we referred on a preceding page—the magnificent thermæ of Titus, of Caracalla, and of Diocletian—were constructed of brick. The city walls, those *altæ mœnia Romæ* of Vergil, were not of stone, but of brick. The splendid villa of Hadrian and that of Mæcenas at Tivoli were of the same material, and so also in general were the palaces of the Roman emperors and the homes of the patricians, whether for permanent residence in the city or at the summer resorts on the coast. The exhumations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have shown us the style of building prevalent in the first century of our era. The houses are constructed of alternate double courses of brick and of stone or lava.

City walls and many villas of brick structure.

In short, everywhere throughout Italy there was an adaptation of various native materials, and particularly of burnt bricks for the purposes of building. So that the same variety which appeared in the buildings themselves—the same extension of the principles of architecture from palaces, temples, and tombs to the abodes of the common people, to aqueducts, roads, walls, and indeed all manner of structure—was noticeable correlatively in the variety of materials which the Romans employed in their edifices.

One of the most notable features in the tangible life of the Roman people was the element of persistency, of durability, of resistance to the assaults of hazard and time. From the earliest ages the

Romans took counsel of the conditions of perpetuity. The things fragile were contemned by the race; only the things massive and strong were chosen and admired. Among the devices invented by men for giving solidity and durability to structure, none have surpassed the

Durability the predominant feature of Roman structure.

ception of the displacement of the statues of the ancient gods of the Roman race from the niches of the dome and the setting up in their stead of the statues of the saints of the Roman Church, little alteration may be discovered in any part from the conditions in which the temple stood in the days of its erection.

FAÇADE OF THE PANTHEON.

methods employed by the architects of Rome. In no other country—not even in Egypt—can the traveler so well familiarize himself with the actual presence of the ancient world as in the former seats of Roman power. The best preserved monument of antiquity is the Pantheon, in the Campus Martius. There it stands as in the first days of its Augustan grandeur. With the exception of the displacement of the statues of the ancient gods of the Roman race from the niches of the dome and the setting up in their stead of the statues of the saints of the Roman Church, little alteration may be discovered in any part from the conditions in which the temple stood in the days of its erection. Nearly nineteen centuries have beaten upon it without visible effect. It is still the Pantheon—pride of ancient Rome.

"Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime—
Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods,
From Jove to Jesus—spared and blest by time."

It is possible that the severe spirit of the Roman race was reflected in another characteristic of architecture. The Greeks avoided the circular form in

their buildings Very rarely in the ground plan of Greek structures, perhaps never outside of theaters and other buildings designed for the auditorium or the public games, do we find the circle. But in Roman architecture there was a growing preference for this form. Such preference was a departure from all the to this principle we add the absence of the arch, we may discover the necessity for the column as the universal means of support. We have seen how the Romans, if possibly they did not introduce, at least adopted the arch as an element of structure. This enabled them to reduce the number of columns and to

The circular form in building cultivated by the Romans.

Greeks prefer the rectangular plan for edifices.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AND COLISEUM.—From *Magazine of Art.*

old practices of the Aryan race, and in general from the practices of the East. Egypt had no circular structures. They were wanting in Assyria. Nineveh, Susa, Persepolis—none of the great ruins of the Eastern world presented such forms of building.

We have shown the strong preference of the Greek architects for the rectangle as the ground plan of their edifices. If make the arch a means of support. In general, the beholder may note a striking difference between the multicolumnar appearance of classical Greek buildings and the more open effect in Roman structures produced by the reduction of the colonnade.

It was an extension of this principle that led to the Roman preference for circular buildings—not, indeed, to the

rejection of the rectangular form, but merely to an architectural variation. The temple of Venus, in Rome, had a circular dome. The temple of Minerva Medica was also circular, having a diameter of one hundred and ten feet. The Pantheon is one of the most conspicuous types. These buildings were usually, in the better ages of Roman architecture, of extreme solidity. Many of them survive in tolerable perfection to the present day. Those of Pompeii and Herculaneum have been uncovered and found in tolerable perfection. The Romans, like the Greeks, availed themselves of

Striking example of circular building at Rome.

INTERIOR OF THERMÆ.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from an original description.

examples of this form of structure. The beautiful tomb of Cecilia Metella is described in Byron's verse as a stern *round* tower of other days. The mausoleum of Hadrian, now the Castle of Sant' Angelo, though rectangular in the ground plan is a circular edifice. The theaters and amphitheaters were copied from those of Greece, though greatly expanded, enlarged, and varied from the original the hillside as the best situation for their theaters, but instead of cutting the structure, as did the Greeks, from the native rock, the Romans excavated and then built.

Throughout the empire the remains of such edifices are frequent. No Roman city was perfect without its theater. The traveler notes the outlines of such buildings not only in Italy, but in France

and Sicily, and indeed in every land over which the authority and civilization of Rome were extended. They are found at Verona, at Pola, Taormina, at Arles, and in many other imperial cities. The same is true of the amphitheaters, which were of great size. That of Verona has dimensions of four hundred and four by five hundred feet. At Nimes, in Languedoc, the old Roman amphitheater is still in such preservation that public shows are celebrated in it as in the times of the Cæsars.[1]

Abundance of Roman theaters; amphitheater of Nimes.

One other point remains to be noted relative to Roman architecture viewed as an index of the genius and spirit of the people. This is the herculean character of many of the works which were undertaken and generally completed by the builders of the Roman race. In estimating such enterprises we must ever make allowance for the character of the age with respect to scientific learning. Be it ever remembered that science had not yet appeared as a guide to the endeavor of man. Take mathematics as an example. Without a knowledge of mechanics, of physics, of the calculus, of physical apparatus such as the theodolite, and more particularly of the mathematical formulæ of surveying and engineering, how could a great aqueduct be constructed, or a great highway be carried with precision for a hundred miles? How could the strength of building materials be estimated, or accurate proportions be determined in the plans of palaces and temples? The engineering of the times must have been empirical—the result of practice and observation, and of laws the mathematical meaning of which was not apprehended.

Wonder excited by Roman structure in an unscientific age.

Still greater is the wonder when we come to reflect upon the fact that in the times of the Roman republic men knew nothing of the subordination of force. What we call "the laws of nature" were as much a riddle as the visage of the sphinx. It is virtually impossible for men at the present day to realize the condition of men in an age when the application of the simple mechanical powers such as the lever and the wheel marked the extreme limit of the dominion of man over the forces of the natural world. In such an age steam was a vapor. Even the gravitating power of water and its ready action in turning wheels had not been discovered. In this direction the capricious wind bearing upon the outspread sail was the limit of the application of power.

The laws of nature unknown to the men of Rome.

Not a single explosive was known to the men of Rome. In fact, no part of that multifarious scientific apparatus by which man now so easily seizes upon and controls the forces of physical nature had been discovered or applied in

Their want of scientific knowledge heightens our admiration.

[1] Historically considered, the amphitheater at Nimes is one of the most interesting places in France, if not in Western Europe. Its estimated capacity for spectators was twenty-three thousand. When the country was overrun by the Goths, they made a lodgment in the structure and converted it into a fortress. Afterwards the Saracens did the same. It was one of their strongholds in the defense of the country against the Franks. During the whole of the Middle Ages it was a fortress, but after the Crusades it began to be a place of residence for the peasants. At the beginning of the present century the place attracted the attention of the government, and an examination by a commission revealed the fact that nearly two thousand persons had established themselves within the amphitheater as a home. In 1809 it was cleared of its inhabitants by order of the prefect of the department, and in 1858 it was repaired and restored as nearly as possible to its original condition. From that time forth the original arena has remained a place of public amusement, and, as has been said in the text, has been recently used for the exhibition of sports and as a seat of fairs for the people of Languedoc.

the age when Cicero thundered against the oppressor of Africa, or when Julius came and saw and conquered. How, then, could the monster works of Rome have been prosecuted to a successful issue? In all parts of Italy and throughout the broad and wild domains of Western Europe, even across the British islands, were drawn the straight, white lines of those great military roads that rang under the iron tread of the Roman soldiery, session of explosives, the tremendous thoroughfares carried out from Rome through all Southern Italy, to the Adriatic on the east, to the valley of the Po on the north, thence across Greece to Philippi beyond the mountains, through France, and to the limits of Western Europe, were—when viewed correlatively to the scientific attainments of the age—works in comparison with which the tunnels of Mont Cenis and the

BRIDGE OF SANT' ANGELO, WITH ST. PETER'S IN THE BACKGROUND.

and to the present day the lines are still discoverable. Earthworks and walls, aqueducts and highways, sewers and bridges, the proportions and extent of which might well stagger the courage of the best engineers and architects of modern times, were undertaken with an energy and completed with a perfection which has not been equaled by the works of any other race of men. Making allowance for the absence of mathematical tables, of physical science, of geographical knowledge, and of the possession of explosives, the tremendous thoroughfares carried out from Rome through all Southern Italy, to the Adriatic on the east, to the valley of the Po on the north, thence across Greece to Philippi beyond the mountains, through France, and to the limits of Western Europe, were—when viewed correlatively to the scientific attainments of the age—works in comparison with which the tunnels of Mont Cenis and the Hoosac, the canals of Suez and Panama, the bridge over East river, and even the Pacific railway itself sink into insignificance.

There was thus introduced into the architecture of Rome an element of practicality, of utility, of value, as well as of durability and perfection of structure. It were not far wide of the truth to ascribe to the Roman people the introduction of practicality into the world. We have noticed the absence of the ideal

The Roman race brings practicality into the world.

quality in the race. The presence of the practical quality may be insisted on and emphasized. In this respect again the Romans are brought into comparison with the peoples of Mesopotamia. The latter went as far as commercial utilitarianism. Thus also did the Phœnicians and the Greeks. It was what may be called the adaptations of intercourse which were present among the nations of the Eastern Mediterranean. They sailed abroad and traded on the coasts. But Rome carried the principle inland, and amplified it among the people. She carried it into the arts, and exemplified it in all of her industries. The whole physical apparatus of her civilization was an exponent of the practical element in the Roman constitution, an evidence of the idea of utility dominant over the refined concepts of an intellectual life. It was with difficulty that even the great Romans of the last century of the republic, when wealth had been amassed, when luxury and ease had come in, when the learning of the Greeks had been copied and imitated in every part, could be drawn aside from those practical commonplace pursuits which the ancestors of the race had followed, or could be brought by discipline to prefer the pursuits of intellectual greatness.

CHAPTER LXV.—RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.

AMONG a people constituted as the Romans it was difficult to maintain the ascendency of ideas. Beliefs that had no practical demonstration in the everyday life of the people suffered decline and became extinct in the Roman mind. Thus in course of time did nearly all of the religious and superstitious ideas which had prevailed in early Rome pass away with the development of the race. It is doubtful whether among any other people the maintenance of the ancient beliefs and practices was so factitious and mechanical as among the Romans in the ages of their power and grandeur.

We have seen in the preceding pages, devoted to the architectural development of the Roman race, that the temples continued, as they had been in early ages, the highest expression of the building skill of the Roman architects. The relative rank and importance of such structures was maintained to the close of the republican régime, but not longer. Already before that epoch the hold of all religious ideas upon the minds and dispositions of the people had begun to relax; and after the institution of the empire the process was accelerated until the old religious bonds were entirely loosed. The Pantheon, coïncident in time with the beginning of the imperial era, was the last attempt of the Roman race to maintain the grandeur and reality of the ancient paganism.

Relaxation of religious ideas with growth of Roman race.

It will now be of interest to go back to first principles and review the evolution of the Roman system of religion. Perhaps the word system ought to be dropped, inasmuch as the first practices of the race were so few and simple as to be unworthy of that name. The Latin and Umbro-Sabellian tribes brought with them into the West some frag-

Primitive Latin concepts of the supernal powers.

ments of the religious notions and practices of the old Aryan race; but they were not many; not elaborate. Vergil had the penetration to discern the primitive condition. In his sketch of the shipwrecked folks of Priam, to whom he assigns the founding of the Latin race, he notices the religious emblems which they brought with them to the Lavinian coast. True enough, he puts into the prayers of Æneas—much given to prayer—something of the phraseology of the Greeks. He makes him address the Olympian gods in appeals which are truly Hellenic in their form and manner, but the treasures of the sea-shattered ships of the Trojan fugitives do not include any of the symbols peculiar to the Olympian worship. On the contrary, there are found in those shiploads of what may be called the seed corn of the Roman race only two simple emblems of religion. These were the famous *Lares* and the *Penates*, the names of which have reverberated through all the songs and stories of the Latin races.

ROMAN CONCEPT OF THE FOUNDER OF THE RACE.—ÆNEAS AND AGAMEMNON.

If we look intently at the Lares and the Penates of the old folk of Latium, we shall find them to be the symbols of a very simple and easily apprehended religion. In common with the other Aryan tribes, the Romans discovered the living forces of the natural world; but there were only certain of those forces which affected their sympathy and

Origin and offices of the ancestral Penates.

interest. These they raised at a very early date, by the same mythologizing process which the Greeks had so elaborately employed, to the rank of divine powers, or deities. But Roman sympathies were not at first drawn forth to the greater processes and aspects of the material world. We have insisted upon the evolution of the household as a peculiarly Roman phenomenon. Since the house and the family became the centers of Roman affection and interest, the man of Latium sought to gather about his household those divine powers which were auspicious to its preservation. These powers he personified under the name of the Penates. They were his household gods. They belonged to the same rank of beings as the nymphs and satyrs and fauns which the Greek imagination had turned loose in the woods and valleys and by the river banks. In such a category of beings the Romans felt little interest; but in his Penates, those divine beings that hovered over his hearth and house, he found sympathy and comfort and protection.

Closely associated with these were the Lares, that is, "the Lords"—for so the word is interpreted. It were difficult to discover the precise genealogy of this class of deities. They were in large measure peculiar to the Roman race. The Lords were the ancestors of the Romans. They were the souls of those departed heroes from whom the Latin stirp had been derived. It was a true ancestral worship, very like one feature of the cult of Egypt, and identical in its leading features with the worship of ancestors as practiced by the Chinese and other Orientals of the present day.

The Lares, or "Lords;" evolution of the household worship.

No doubt the system began in the simple veneration of the child for its father. That the household should be greatly shocked in the event of the father's death is a human characteristic so simple as to require no interpretation. In such a catastrophe the excitement of the filial affections would easily lead to the apotheosis of the departed parent. The subjective state would be changed from simple veneration to actual worship. This disposition and practice the Latin race brought with it to the West; and the strong family tie, the preponderance of the household over every other element in Roman life, led to the perpetuation and development of the Laric form of worship, and the establishment of a proper ceremonial for its observance. The memory and the presence of the Penates and the Lares were constantly enforced in the Roman home by the effigies of the good powers unseen, which hovered over that focus of Roman life. On every rustic fireboard, in every peasant's home, were seen the little images which attested the disposition of the Roman people to adore their progenitors and their faith in the guardian spirits which protected the hearthstone from sacrilege and the house itself from the malignant powers that prowled about the world.

It is probable that for hundreds of years after the settlement of the Aryan tribes in Central Italy their religion had this extent, and no more. It might be difficult to find any historical evidence that the Olympian system of paganism was at this epoch of development even known west of the Adriatic. The house worship was a simple practice. It coïncided with the temper of the primitive Latini and with the dispositions of their descendants until what time foreign intercourse brought in the suggestions of a more ornate and elaborate system of religious faith.

Olympian paganism not known to the primitive race.

In the mythical ages, in the first centuries of the republic, it might be said that every Roman house was a place of worship. It had its altar. The father of the household officiated. The religious ceremonial was in a peculiar sense a part of the daily life of the primitive Roman peasant and of the citizen as well. The adoration of the Lares and the Penates was sincere and universal. The ceremonial was not at the first detached in any measure from the home administrations. This circumstance brings us to consider one of the remarkable features of the private and the public life of the Roman people. This is that they never in any period of their development regarded religion as a distinct institution of society. It was simply a *function* of society, and not an independent organic element.

Roman religion a function of family and state.

ROMAN RELIGION.—Procession of the Suovetaurilia.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

Something of the same disposition had been shown among the Greeks, but it remained for the Romans to form a religious concept which made the worship of the gods an office and not an institution in society. The principle had a double manifestation, first in its relation to the people of Old Rome, and afterwards in its connection with the Roman state. In Old Rome religion was simply a function of the family. As we have said, the father, afterwards the paterfamilias, was the priest. There was no separate order established. It required time and transformation to call forth a member of society with the particular right and duty of performing religious ceremonies.

Worship of the gods an office among Greeks and Romans.

This led to the second aspect, in which, under the republic, religion became a function of the state just as it had been a function of the household in the primitive ages. The public faith, whether as a system of belief or as organized into

form and ceremony, never had an independent existence under the auspices of the Roman race. The whole system was functional and dependent. This fact is particularly noticeable in the character of the Roman priesthood, or more properly the character of the Roman priests —for there was never a priesthood in any true sense of the word. Every Roman priest was an officer of the state. It was his duty, true enough, properly to perform the ceremonies of the national religion, but he was merely an officer in the same sense that the lictor and the prætor and the tribune of the people were officers. The idea of his possessing an independent right and of his being a member of an independent order in society never entered the Roman mind; nor was any such claim ever absurdly advanced by the priests themselves in the face of the universal understanding and sentiment of society.

Evolution of the Pontifex Maximus and his successor.

No sooner will the student of history have firmly grasped the principle here set forth than he will perceive by glancing to the future some of the reasons for the close association of Christianity with the imperial government of Rome. Aye, further on, we can perceive how, when that imperial government shall be shattered by the assaults of the northern nations, the Pontifex Maximus, under his new title of Bishop of Rome, will naturally remain as the head of secular society. He will be, under the working of ethnic laws, the remaining pillar of the ancient state. Him the barbarians, for religious and superstitious reasons, will not attack and dethrone. Him they will suffer to survive in the wreck of Rome; and in him, partly by his own assumptions and partly out of the logic of the situation, will spring and grow, in the same consciousness, the germs of the new secular and religious society of Southern Europe. But he will—such is the law and working of human nature—be careful that in the new order the religious power shall advance its claim to supremacy and domination over the civil and political organizations of incipient Europe. Hence the Papacy.

As the tribal Latini were transformed into Roman citizens, as Rome the city became Rome the state, the simple religion of the Albanian fathers began also, chiefly by the infections of foreign influence, to take on new aspects, to enlarge its Pantheon, and elaborate its ceremonies. It is said that about thirty divine beings were believed in by the Romans of the mythical ages. But all the ideal and practical parts of the early faith had remained a simple system that might be grasped and believed in even by Latin shepherds and Sabine farmers.

Ancient Albanian religion infected with new forms.

ROMAN ALTAR.
Drawn by V. Froer.

With the extension of her acquaintance among the cities of Magna Græcia,

PRIESTESS OF VESTA.—From the painting by E Burne-Jones.

and with the beginnings of the intercourse of Rome with the Athenian Greeks, the Olympian hierarchy was imported and set down in Italy. It is probably true that to a certain extent the recollection of this system—aye, possibly its acceptance by the Romans—must be carried back to the ages of migration, when the Græco-Italic race was still in unity. But, as we have said, the Romans in the first ages after their settlement in Italy introduced and cultivated no other than the simple home religion suitable for the household and adapted to the unideal and unimaginative character of the people. Nor is it likely that when the Olympian hierarchy was instituted in the West the Romans ever understood it. The new system was showy, elaborate, spectacular; and the Romans were not insensible to these qualities. So the primitive religion opened out into a mythological paganism very like the theology of the Greeks.

Mythology of the Greeks imported into Italy.

From this time forth the religious system of Rome became a huge formality. It is doubtful whether during the last two centuries of the republic and under the imperial régime the Romans were in anywise morally restrained by the

The religion of the Romans becomes a huge formality.

dogmas and precepts of their faith. There was an observance of religious forms on all public occasions, and in every crisis of society the priest had an important part. A large number of officers were set apart by the senate or by election for the service of the temples and the general duties of the national religion, but it was a showy formalism, devoid of the sentiments with which the fathers of Rome had worshiped at their local altars.

The Flamens and priestly colleges of Rome.

Every god in these days—and the name of the gods was legion—had his temple and shrine. Each had his retinue of priests, who, as we have said, were civil officers of the state appointed to the work of religion. The priesthood of each deity constituted a college, at the head of which was a high priest, called the Flamen. His name signified "the kindler," or "the blower," for it was his duty to kindle the fire on the altar and to see that it was kept perpetually burning. The priests of the major gods, who had of course been honored with the greater temples, were more numerous and important. The worship of the Roman Jupiter was in some sense at the head of the whole system. His chief priest was the Flamen Dialis, whose appointment was for life, and who held a position of high honor in the state. The discipline which usage had indicated for the government of his life was especially severe, reminding one of the rules by which the Egyptian priesthood was governed.

Women admitted to participation in religious rites.

In common with the Phrygians and the Greeks—we might say, in common with all the Western Aryans—the Romans admitted women to participation in the rites of religion. But this principle was not of universal application. In the worship of Vesta, who was the guardian divinity of the house and home, the ministrations of women were freely admitted. This cult lay close alongside of the primitive faith of the race. It was deep down under the traditions on which the Olympians had come in and overshadowed the native gods. Six virgins were consecrated to attend the sacred fires on the altars of Vesta. They must be selected from the noblest families in all Rome. They must be chaste as the driven snow. Their term of service lasted for thirty years, during which time the strictest regard was had to the purity of the vestal's life. She must remain a virgin, and guard her chastity with the utmost care. One might suppose that this constituted a true order of priesthood—a religious, as distinguished from a civil, order; but not so.

Evolution of the pontifical office; the Maximus.

There was in Rome a company of religious officers, called the pontifices, whose original appointment was as distinctly secular as that of the lictors. To them, however, was assigned the general care of the religious worship of the city. It was their duty to see that all ceremonials were conducted in accordance with the traditional forms and usages. This college of priests had been in the first place constituted as a sort of street commission, the duties of which had special reference to the construction of bridges and crossings. They were the civil engineers of Rome. The two Latin words *pons*, "a bridge," and *facere*, "to make," gave the elements of the word *pontifices*. They were the bridgebuilders of primitive Rome; and bridgebuilding and the care of the national religion were duties not incompatible in the hands of the same officers —so said the judgment of Rome.

At the head of the pontifical col-

lege was the Pontifex Maximus, or the principal religious officer of the state. He was the bridgebuilder-in-chief, and also the high priest of Rome. It was to him that the superintendence of the vestal virgins was assigned—from which circumstance we may see clearly the complete intermingling of secular and religious functions in the Roman polity.

VESTAL SERVICE IN THE TEMPLE.

We may here pause again to note the strength and solidity which resulted from the principles of government just described. The fact that the officers of religion received their appointment from a common source with the officers of secular society bound the whole system in one. The priest was just as dependent upon the state as was the *comes stabuli*, or master of the horse. There was thus a perfect interlocking of the religious and civil powers in such manner as to give to Roman society that thing which Roman society always demanded, a complete unity of design and purpose. Over every subordinate institution rose the one great predominant idea of the state. The senate was a part of the state. The patrician order was a part; the plebeians were a part; the familia, by means of its relation with the gens, was a part; the tribe was a part, and the national religion was a part. No organization under the Roman theory of society presumed to contend with the state. The elements might war with each other; but the state was supreme and unassailable.

Strength secured by making the priesthood secular.

One feature of the religious belief of the Romans strongly indicates the antiquity of the race and its close association in some primitive age with the Persians and the Hindus. In the old religious faith of the Roman race there was a tinge of dualism—a shadow of that belief by which the powers of evil were set over, in the administration of the world, against the powers of good. It is probable that no such element of belief existed among the Greeks. Nor was the same to be discovered among the later dogmas which were accepted at Rome. But in the mythical ages there was a

System of dualism indicates affinity with Iranians.

popular faith in the existence of evil deities as well as good. The Lares were, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors; that is, of those good, heroic ancestors whose spirits still hovered in the world, to promote the happiness of their descendants. But over against the Lares were set the *Lemures*, or evil spirits, the souls of the ancient bad, who prowled around the abodes of the living to work out their malignant spite against mankind. They were the exact counterpart of the *Devas* believed in by the Iranians. As the latter were the enemies of the *Ahuras*, or spirits of the good, so the Lemures were the enemies of the good deities of the Roman race. Sometimes the name *Larvæ* was given to the Western Devas. Nor is it known whether the Larvæ were another class of beings created by the superstition, or whether they were merely the Lemures under another name.

In the use of this term Larvæ and its application, there may be discovered the remains of the ancient Eastern dogma of the transmigration of souls. The Larvæ may be regarded as the degraded, obscure, and ignominious shapes into which the evil beings of the past had been forced down by the power of fate, and in which they were permitted for the brief season of mortal life to torment and afflict the sons of men. In course of time, however, this most ancient dualistic feature of the Roman faith disappeared; and it is likely that a philosophical investigation of the condition of Roman belief in the times of republican and imperial grandeur would reveal few traces, if any, of the primitive superstition relative to the evil deities.

Theory of the Larvæ; the cult disappears.

TYPES OF THE PATRICIAN ORDER.—CATILINE AT BAY.

We have spoken above of the general supervision which the pontifices had over all religious beliefs and practices.

As officers, they determined the orthodoxy, both objective and subjective, of the Roman people. We have also seen how the same officers had civil functions to perform, and how, indeed, the civil functions were prior in time to the religious duties that were afterwards attached to the office. By the standard of modern times, it will appear almost ludicrous that the pontifices had also certain *literary* duties to which they must attend under the laws of the state. They were the custodians of the public documents, and had to them assigned the duty of writing the annals of the city. They produced and kept under their care the archives of the state, and were responsible to the state as the historians of current events. They were empowered to regulate the calendar and to fix the time, the occasion, and the circumstances of the annual festivals to which custom or the acts of the senate had given rise.

The pontifices become the state historians.

These multiple relations of the Roman pontifical officers with the other elements of civil society were not peculiar, but were in strict analogy with the various functions which other officers of the state must perform under the existing constitution. As we have said and repeated, every fiber of political, civil, and religious society was thus interlocked with every other fiber in a unity which it has required centuries completely to undo. Nor may we truly aver that to the present day the constitution of the Roman people has been entirely undone in any civilized state of Western Europe or the New World into which the legal principles of Rome have once entered.

Interlocking of offices gives strength to civil society.

The history of civilization is compelled, in noticing the development of every nation of men, to take into account the superstitions with which they have been afflicted. When we consider the uniformity of nature, the sublime regularity of all the processes of the physical universe, we may well be perplexed to account for those irrational beliefs relative to the causes and reasons of things with which all peoples have been vexed in the early ages of their development. If we apply right reason to the problem, we shall perhaps discover that the bottom principle of superstition is found in the *dread and alarm* which primitive man must needs feel in the presence of the unexplained, and especially the portentous aspects of physical nature.

Superstition originates in a dread of nature

It is the peculiarity of our system of worlds that the regularity, precision, and beneficence of its major movements are more easily discoverable than are the laws of its minor details and processes. The general motions and laws of the planets are as regular and uniform as the action of well-constructed machinery. A planet is more easily understood than a cloud. The same may be said of the major aspects of our world. The seasons come and go in an order which has never been disturbed since it was first observed by man. So also the succession of day and night. But when we descend into the particulars of meteorology we enter a domain where all appears to be irregularity, confusion, chaos.

Major aspects of nature more easily understood than minor.

To the present day science, with its keen insight into natural law and its firm faith in uniformity, has not been able to stretch out its scepter over the cloud land, the fog, the rain, the wind, the dew, or any of the details of the daily visible aspects of our planet. Yet it was with these very minutiæ of physical nature that the man of the morning

Science still unable to discover the laws of minor phenomena.

was involved and perplexed. His mind had not yet risen to a knowledge of the general laws by which universal nature is governed. His thought was constantly entangled with the small processes which were immediately under his observation. The apparent irregularity shown in these led him to think that caprice was the bottom principle of nature. With this idea came uncertainty; and with uncertainty came dread. With dread came superstition. Wherever fear is, there will be some effort to escape the thing feared—some form of superstitious avoidance of impending or possible evil.

So simple a fact as the night has been one of the leading causes of dread and consequent superstition. All the children of the world, plunged suddenly into the darkness, feel instinctively the sense of alarm. With a very little agitation they cry out with fright, and fly from they know not what. The darkness has in it a thousand specters, simply because the human eye can not reveal the realities of the abyss. Wherever there is a shadow there is a form. The imagination pictures it so. The primitive races were children. Many of the shadows which haunt the modern world rested then on all the landscape of life. Not only the night, but every variety of obscure circumstance which was noted by the old-time folks gave them a sense of dread; and they sought, as they struggled and groped under conditions which

Night and darkness engender superstitious beliefs.

HARUSPEX OFFICIATING.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

they did not understand, to form explanations and to devise processes by which safety might be secured to themselves and their descendants. In these conditions we may catch at least a glimpse of the general causes which promoted the growth of superstitious beliefs among all the peoples of antiquity, and which have prevented, to the present day, the entire clearing of the human mind from the influences of the ancient shadows.

The Romans the most superstitious of ancient peoples.

More than many other of the primitive peoples were the Romans the subjects of superstition. Their coarse, strong intellects did not easily discover in the natural world the suggestions of regularity, and gave up readily to the dominion of chance. There was no disposition in the race to frame a scientific explanation of the phenomena of nature; and hence there has been no true myth-making power displayed by any division of the Latin peoples. While the Greeks busied themselves with the creation of elaborate poetical schemes as the expression of their beliefs relative to the aspects and processess of the natural world, the Romans were unable even to imitate or understand what their neighbors had produced. Such beautiful myths as that of Daphne fleeing before her lover and lord around the world, but returning to watch at his dying couch—story of the Twilight and the Sun—could never be transferred to Italy. Such exquisite vines of the human imagination could not grow among the rough stone walls of Roman thought. The Albanian fathers produced some myths; but they were political legends, and not interpretations of nature. The stories of early Rome had a political significance, and it might be said that the Roman imagination and fancy never rose higher than the poetry of politics.

Roman superstition grew into augury and divination.

It therefore becomes a curious inquiry to consider the course which Roman superstition must needs take under the existing conditions. It grew not into poetical myths, but into augury and divination. Augury was preëminently a practical science. It was what may be called applied mythology. Had it not been practical, it would have been rejected by the prosaic genius of Rome. But because it professed to be an actuality, because it offered itself to the people in the guise of a benefit, they accepted it as such, and encouraged the study of the cult, just as they would have promoted a street improvement or a new method of tactics for the army. He who proposed to determine by established rules the meaning of certain things, to predict the issue of an event by signs which were visible to the eye and known to the understanding, was like any other man of business or officer of the state. He was good for something. But the Greek myth-maker and poet could hardly have been fitted into the structure of Rome. His place in the state could not have been discovered.

Roman myth and tradition wholly political.

If we examine the early legends and traditions of the Roman people we shall find them, without exception, to have related, as we have said, to the political structure of society. Every story of that ancient people had a tendency or application to the civil affairs of the city. The Sibylline books were offered to Tarquinius Priscus. The Tarquin was king. They were afterwards kept in the custody of the government. The she-wolf nourished two barbarian statesmen, and her image was afterwards set up in the capitol. It is all matter of fact. The legend never issues in any fanciful refinements, but is always coined into af-

fairs. A story that did not have relation to the business of the forum or the market died out as being unworthy of repetition. The interference of the deities even had a political and social significance.

When Juno's geese screamed out a warning from the capitol by night, it meant that the existing order was threatened by violence. Arouse, ye Romans, and preserve the existing order! Romulus became Quirinus, and was lifted on high from the midst of a political convention, turned into an insurrection and riot. Even the powers above were locked and welded with the structure of the state.

Whoever studies with care these aspects of Roman life, and whoever reflects upon the essential character of the race and the nature of the institutions—social, civil, political—which were contrived by the practical sense of this great people, will likely conclude that Roman genius must have been of remarkable intuitions and powers to have devised and constructed so great a system of government, so lasting a polity. At this point the inquirer is likely to run into the common error of supposing that nations consciously devise anything. Nations grow; and the history of peoples is a narrative of successive small adaptations to new facts and circumstances as they arise in society. As in the case of the individual, it is doubtful whether a people is ever at the time adequately conscious of what it is doing. The work of each day is a momentary adjustment to the changed or changing facts which have come into existence. To conceive of states creating a general scheme based on high and abstract principles, reaching to distant ages and peoples, is to conceive of what never is.

Races do not consciously devise their institutions.

THE CAPITOL, FROM THE PALATINE, RESTORED.

True, there are certain critical epochs where wide departures from the previous condition of a people are made with some degree of suddenness. But after all, the new policy issues from the old as the leaf from the twig, as the blossom from the bud. Rome did not consciously devise those great institutions which gave her unity and strength. Her skill lay in a succession of fortunate adaptations of means to ends through a series of emergencies; and the result of the tedious, experimental process was the Roman republic, such as it was in the last century before our era. The republic grew as the Roman people grew. While it was not consciously devised—constructed as the architect constructs the building—it was the product of a long succession of common-sense measures devised by a people whose practical abilities and political constructive skill were very great, and whose imaginative powers were like a certain class of birds which having wings are incapable of flight.

New features of race-life issue from the old by evolution.

> "You all did see, that on the *Lupercal*,
> I thrice presented him a kingly crown."

When Marcus Antonius thus offered the wreath, or diadem, or whatever it was, to great Julius, he was officiating as priest at the festival of the *Lupercalia*. This remarkable feast may be taken as an example of the splendid religious spectacles which were annually celebrated in Rome. The Romans had great skill in contriving and managing the spectacular part of their religion. Their festivals were many. They took delight in pouring forth at certain seasons of the year to celebrate the recurring festival which had become immemorial by usage. Lupercus was the god of purification and fecundity. Like the other Roman deities, he had his locus, his temple, his retinue of priests. The god himself was represented as wearing bits of goatskin, but otherwise half naked. The ceremonial was as old as Romulus, by whom the college of the Luperci was said to have been established.

Prevalence of religious festivals; the Lupercalia.

It was on the 15th of February that the annual ceremony was presented. The animals sacrificed were goats and dogs. When these had been slain at the altar, two Roman youths rushed forward, and the officiating priest, dipping the point of a sword into the blood of the victims, touched it upon the young men's foreheads. But the blood stains were immediately washed away by another priest, who used for that purpose a white wool sponge dipped in milk. Then the priests drank largely of wine to stimulate themselves for the street scene. They also ate of the goat's flesh. More particularly, they tore up the skins of the goats, fastening scraps of the same to their persons in imitation of the garb of Lupercus. They then took in their hands strips of the goatskins and ran into the streets, followed by the procession and the crowds. As they ran about they struck every one whom they could approach — especially the women—with the goathide whips. The stroke thus administered had the power to purify, and more particularly to ward off sterility from the fortunate ones who received the blow.

In what manner the annual ceremony was presented.

Had the traveler taken his station on the Via Portuensis, beyond the fifth milestone from Rome, he might have seen a grove called the *Lucus Deæ Diæ*, or the Grove of Dea Dia. And if his visit to this locality had been between the middle and the end of May, he should

Lucus Deæ Diæ and festival of the Arval Brothers.

STREET PAGEANT IN ROME—RETURNING FROM THE GAMES.—Brutus, Cassius, and Cæsar.

have witnessed a festival there which was as significant and poetical as anything of which the Roman race was capable. Like the other feasts, it was as old as the traditional age of Rome. The foster-mother of Romulus was said to have borne the name of Acca Laurentia. To her tradition assigned twelve sons. These were the original *Fratres Arvales*, or Field Brothers, who were the originals of the Arval Brotherhood. The latter, in the days of the republic, had been constituted a college of priests whose duty it was to offer annually a public sacrifice for the fertility of the fields. The members of the college were selected from the best Roman families, descendants from that old populus Romanus, the pride of which was perpetuated beyond the days of Cæsar. Even the boys who attended upon the Flamen and the Prætor of this college were the sons of senators whose parents must be still living.

When the great day of the ceremonial arrived, the Grove of Dea Dia must be purified with an animal sacrifice. First, two young pigs were offered, then a white cow was led to the altar, and finally a sheep. But the proper significance of the ceremonial was the bringing to the priests of samples of the old and the new grain from the fields, to be touched by them, to the end that fertility might abound and continue. The fruits of the earth were thus blessed, after which they were returned to the owners. There were many interesting ceremonies and prayers and consecrations in connection with the Arval festival, and the whole was more near to nature and more expressive of sympathies with the spirit in her bosom—more poetical, in brief—than almost any other part of the Roman religion.

Features and significance of the ceremonial.

Rome greatly surpassed Greece in the number, variety, and extent of her public celebrations; but these were by no means so profound in their signification, so elegant, so truly mythical, as were those of the Eastern people. The Roman ceremonial was a pageant, a tangible form, great, elaborate, spectacular. To maintain, perpetuate, and make honorable the religious festivals was one of the leading duties of the state. Many of the most distinguished officers had, as we have seen, religious duties to perform, but the difference between such functions as related to the national faith and those which belonged to civil society was not clearly drawn as it would be under the beliefs and practices of modern times.

Rome surpasses Greece in her public celebrations.

References to the public ceremonials, the street pageants, the incidents of the national worship, entered into all the literature of Rome. The orations delivered in the forum and the senate-house were touched in many parts with allusions to the rites of religion, and were interlarded with apostrophes to the gods. Latin poetry was pervaded with religious sentiment and phraseology. Even the cynical Horace, in one of the greatest of his smaller poems, when he describes his own hope of future fame, could do no better than to declare—

Literature infected with the prevailing superstitions.

> "I shall be sung to all posterity,
> Growing in praise, while on the sacred hill
> The Pontifex shall with the virgin be."

It is believed by those who have looked profoundly into the original conditions of Roman society that its religious element was deduced from the Sabines. It might well be confessed that the robbers of Romulus had little aptitude for religion; and their practices,

Bottom ideas of Roman religion derived from the Sabines.

as they are described in the traditions of primitive Rome, justify the assumption. The Sabine folk, however, seem to have had a more genuine bias toward a faith in the gods and a conformity to their will. Here again the composite nature of the original stock of the Roman people comes clearly into view. It is thought that the love of form and of ceremony, for which the Romans were ever noted, was derived from the Etruscans—that Lucerine element of population which was fused with the Ramnes and the Tities in the earliest days. There was thus a compounding of diverse elements in the new character which presently sprang from the fusion.

The chemistry of nature and of man.

In actual chemistry we notice certain wonderful effects arising in the moment of combination. That *aqua regia*, in which gold dissolves as snow in water, has its power in the moment of the union of the two acids of which it is composed. There is a human chemistry, an ethnic chemistry, under the laws of which, occult though they be, strong and great results are produced by the admixture and combination of elements. The Sabines gave the primitive impulse to the religious development of the Roman race. The Etruscans contributed the love of form, while the Latins proper added the love of might. It might be truthfully said that the very bottom instinct in the original stock of Latium was expressed in the dogma that might makes right. This is the one principle from which the Roman race never deviated. Whether consciously expressed in the theory of Roman life, or only tacitly adopted and exemplified in Roman practice, it was, nevertheless, the fundamental thought from which the principal activities of that great race were deduced.

CHAPTER LXVI.—LAW AND CONSTITUTION.

IN thus considering with some degree of care the various aspects of the strongest race of the ancient world, we pass from one part or power of society to another part without that break which would appear in discussing the organic parts of any other national life. The civil, the social, the religious, elements in the great fact called Rome lie so close to each other and are so compacted that the inquirer may turn from the one to the other with little difficulty. Roman law is so close alongside Roman religion, and the two are so much alike, that the discussion may here be turned without jar to the consideration of the principles and legal rules on which Roman society was founded.

Roman law arises out of the prerogative of fatherhood.

Rome was the great lawmaking state of antiquity. In her capacity of legislator she achieved a success which, if it were judged by the criteria of fitness and durability, has never been equaled by any other political organization. And yet Roman law was a growth. It had in it the life of centuries drawn up by gradual accretions until the tree branched wide and overshadowed Europe. At the very bottom of the vast system lay a certain conceded family right called the *patria potestas;* that is, the prerogative of fatherhood. It was

an absolute right belonging to the father to govern, control, and order his own household; positively, as to what might be done; negatively, as to what should not be done. It was an underived, natural right, inseparable from the state of fatherhood, belonging to it in the nature of things. It extended to the power of life and death over the children of the household, and it is likely that under the first customs the wife also was equally subject to the husband's will. The second original principle was that a man is entitled to the absolute ownership of such property as he has been able to gain by appropriation from nature or conquest from others. In these two respects the Roman citizen was at the beginning absolute and unlimited.

Upon these fundamental rights the Roman family was builded. When in process of time a state was planted and legislative processes began the old rights and customs were found deep-bedded in the practices of the people. The ancient folk law which had grown into form by custom was the concrete on which the first stones of the great constitutional structure of Rome were laid.

Roman jurisprudence based on Fas, Jus, and Boni Mores.

If now we take up the legislation, the jurisprudence, of the Roman race, we shall find that the elements of the same were drawn from three general sources which were in some sense assumed as the fountains wherefrom all legitimate political principles must flow. The first of these was called *Fas*, the second *Jus*, and the third *Boni Mores*. It is impossible, perhaps, to translate these words into the English language and to convey in our vernacular the true ideas of the original. Indeed, those ideas are difficult to determine and define. They were ideas peculiar to the Roman people, a part of their philosophy of things. Since the passing away of the system of beliefs peculiar to antiquity, it has become impossible to revive in full force the ideas which underlay the ancient scheme of thought. It is often difficult for the modern mind to apprehend precisely what was meant by given terms and phraseology peculiar to the classical languages. But we will endeavor to transfer into our own tongue as much as practicable of the bottom ideas couched in the words above referred to.

Derivation and sense of fas.

1. *Fas.*—According to Roman belief there was over and above all men and gods, above all visible aspects of things and the invisible world of thought, a certain absolute condition to which they gave the name of fas. It was not exactly a condition or state, nor was it precisely an intelligence or person. Perhaps the Roman mind itself did not well apprehend the import and definitions of its own concept. The word fas is derived from the same root form with *fate*, and Fate was, in the mythology of the ancients, the supreme power under which all things are held. It might be said that fas was the edict of fate. It signified the decree or principle that issued from the absolute condition which was over all. Being a decree or principle thus proceeding from the highest power in the universe, it became with respect to men the *rule* or *law* of things, unchangeable, eternal.

The principles of fas might be discovered by right reason.

The thought is somewhat dim to our apprehension, but to the Roman mind fas was the divine law viewed with respect to human life and conduct. Whatever, therefore, could be discovered of the true fas must be applied by formal expression to the regulation of the affairs of men. The mind might be turned to the discovery of fas and to its applica-

tion. It would be the business of the philosopher, the jurist, to look intently at principles and to deduce them, as much as practicable, from that absolute condition and law which was stretched out over all men and all things. Thus it was that fas was said to be, and practically was, the prime source of the derivation of Roman law.

Since fas was a positive term; since all legislation must in the nature of things be largely made up of interdicts rather than injunctions; since it is by negation rather than precept that human conduct must be regulated in societies and governments, the negative side of fas must be discovered and defined. This was produced under the name of *Nefas*. Nefas did not mean the impossible, but simply that thing which was interdicted by the immutable principles of fas. Primarily, nefas would signify the thing that *might not be said;* but in its application, it was the thing that *might not be done*. So close was the principle that nefas implied the thing that *might not be thought*. In its full signification, therefore, it was the thing that might not be thought, might not be said, might not be done. Theoretically, nefas dived into the realm of motive, and was therefore an interdict against sin. It covered all things forbidden, whether in religion, in society, or in the state. The Roman laws, however, as must always be the case with the tangible rules of human conduct, did not presume to reach all cases of nefas, but only so much of human conduct as was made actual in deeds. In attempting to eliminate from their life and practices all things nefas, the Roman legislators were too wise to attempt to include the hidden motives of human conduct, and consequently limited their statutes *to overt acts*—a principle which has been transmitted to the legislation of modern times.

Theory of nefas, and its applications to conduct.

2. *Jus.*—The Roman mind discriminated between what we would call the divine order and law of the universe and the natural order and law of the world. It was in the former realm that fas was discovered; in the latter, jus. The exact signification of this word has been much discussed. By some it has been thought to signify a binding together, a joining or union of things by a principle. By others it has been interpreted as that which is regular, orderly, or fitting. The common derivation has been from the verb *jubeo*, which signifies "I order, or direct," as though it were jus habeo, that is, I hold, or have, jus. Whatever the etymology may be, jus signified natural right. It was not by any means what we would call the law of nature; for the law of nature is many times forceful, violent — we might say immoral, or *un*-just. But jus was never immoral, never *un*-just. It was the principle of immutable right discoverable by the human mind in the elementary conditions of things.

Jus the natural law and order of the world.

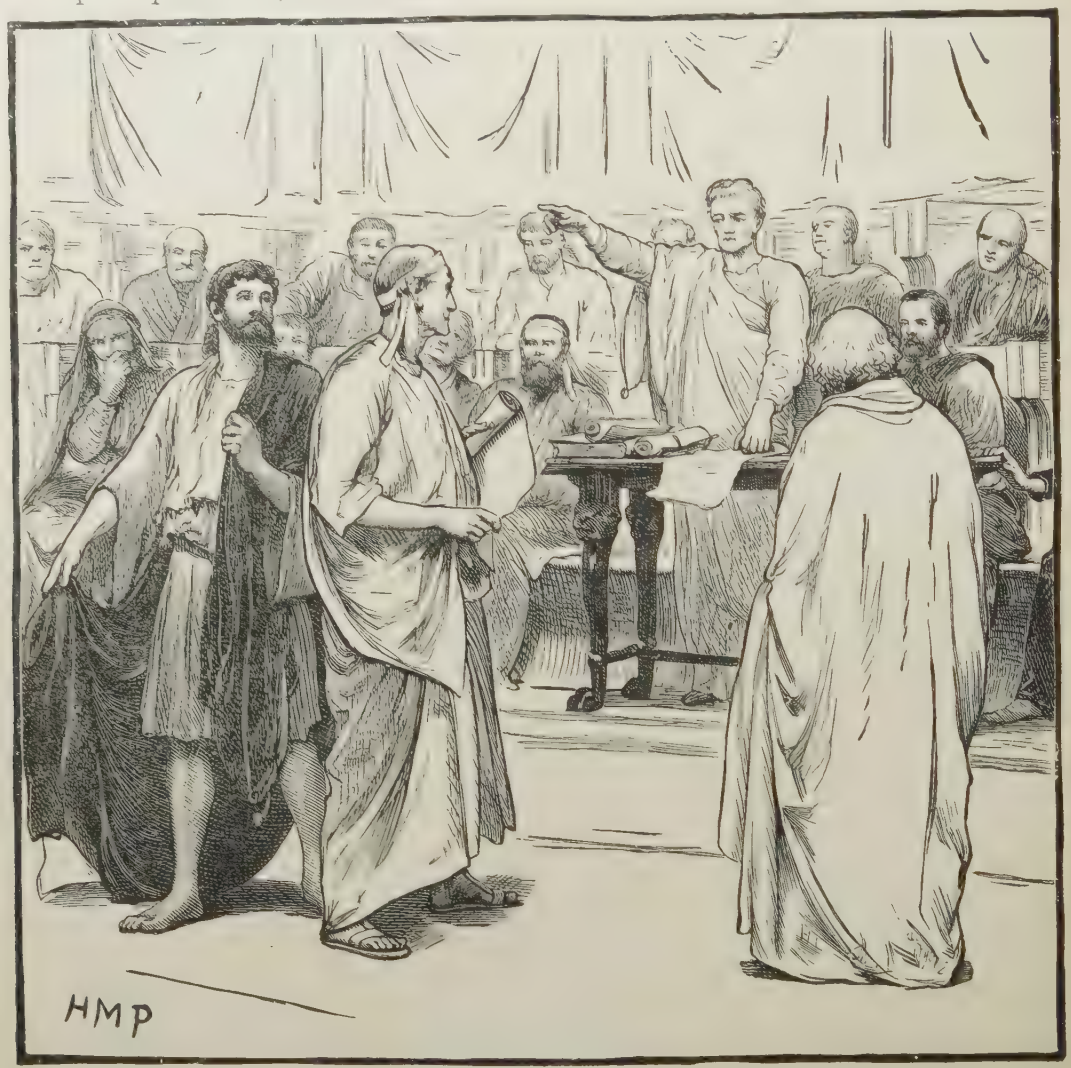
To the present day, among all peoples whose languages have been infected with Latin derivatives, the words *just, unjust, justice,* etc., have preserved a shadow of the ancient sense of jus There is at the present time no appeal which man may make with more confidence and certainty than the appeal to justice. When he stands fast and declares that a thing is just, he unconsciously appeals to the very same idea which the Roman mind discovered before the republic was the republic. It is the idea of some immutable principle in all human conduct which may be used

Definition of justice; absoluteness of the principle.

as the standard of rectitude, the criterion of right, a standard from which there is no deviation, a rule under which there is no shadow of turning. Jus, in the Roman sense of the word, was as absolute a principle as fas, but it was differently derived. The one had its residence in the realm of human nature, generalized and perfected, the other had its origin in the depth of that absolute condition which was supposed to embrace all men and all things.

When the Roman race was sufficiently advanced to enter upon the formal work of legislation, it found that the rules of human conduct had already been determined, if not formally expressed, by what was called *Jus Moribus Constitutum;* that is, justice determined by usages.

Jus moribus constitutum and lex.



COURT SCENE IN OLD ROME.—Expulsion of the Sophists.

To this there was presently added formal enactment, lawmaking proper, which was called *Lex*. Of course, it was claimed that all lex, or formal law, was merely the declarative and authoritative enunciation of jus. So that henceforth it was customary to say that jus, or the whole moral law and

fundamental constitution of society, must be considered under the two forms of jus moribus constitutum and lex, that is, justice established by usage; and secondly, legislative enactment. Many of the old laws of Rome were never put into the form of lex. They were so well fixed in the public mind, so deeply imbedded with the traditions of the race, so universally accepted as the rules of conduct, that it would have been regarded as supererogatory or even absurd to reënact them. There was in this regard a close analogy between the jus moribus constitutum of Rome and the common law usages of England.

3. *Boni Mores.*—In the progress of human society many customs and usages which spring up among a people are presently rejected as unfitting and hurtful. Others, however, are attested and approved by experience. The latter survive and become with each generation more and more determinate as the habits of society. On the whole, the principle of advantage and disadvantage lies at the bottom of the natural selection which people exercise in the choice of their customs and usages. What is, on the whole, found to be advantageous is retained as the standard of conduct. There thus arises a difference between good morals and bad. We speak here of natural morals, and not of such as are derived from the formal precepts of religion.

Evolution of boni mores; distinction of good morals from bad.

After Rome had survived the struggles of her early life; after her manners and customs had been rectified by the experience of several centuries; after she found herself in possession of power and reason, she looked around among her usages and discovered what she chose to call boni mores; that is, sound morals—a certain kind of customs which had been approved and attested by the judgment and practice of the fathers. Of course, not all the morals of the people and the state could be said to be boni —good. Some, on the contrary, were bad. These were the residue of the old evil which is dormant in human life, struggling ever to assert itself in the habits of men. But the boni mores were the good residue, constituting an excellent standard or criterion by which current usage and new usage not yet established might be judged. There was thus a natural appeal to boni mores, or sound morality, in the jurisprudence of Rome.

Boni mores the source of the common law of Rome.

The reader will perceive, however, that it may be difficult to keep the foregoing three fountains of Roman law entirely distinct. He will reason that fas—the idea of fas, in the Roman mind —would be reflected into the affairs of life and become to a certain extent confused with jus. He will also perceive that in the primary determination of boni mores the principle of jus would have to be used as a criterion. No doubt there is much truth in these reflections; and, as a rule, it might be said that the Roman statute was a composite of fas, jus, and boni mores. A principle which had been originally derived from fas, so soon as it was enforced by the secular tribunals and had thus received the sanction of human authority, would become jus; and on the other side, principles of fas would be applied in early ages by the pontifical officers in the establishment of sound morals, and in course of time the boni mores thus established would in their turn be appealed to as a secondary fountain of law. None the less, the absolute fas, or the divine and universal law stretched out over nature and man,

Intermingling of fas, jus, and boni mores in Roman law.

unchangeable, eternal, was different from that jus, or principle, of absolute rectitude which had its throne in the bosom of human society, and still more different from that merely sound morality which had sprung up out of the ethical constitution of the race, and had been experimentally determined in its forms by the law of advantage and preference.

TRIAL SCENE IN A ROMAN COURT.

It is here assumed that the reader has some historical acquaintance with those divisions of the Roman population which were marked out with respect to law and lawmaking. He has been already informed in this work as to the nature and limitations of the familia. The gens has also been explained—the tribus, or threefold division of the old Romans made by Romulus. He will also remember how each tribus, or tribe, was divided into ten curiæ; how the century was formed, and how the curiæ, the tribus, and the century became the foundation of the three different kinds of Comitiar assembly, namely, the Comitia Curiata, the Comitia Tributa, and the Comitia Centuriata. The latter assembly was composed of citizens only who were members of the curiæ, and were held as occasion required—not periodically. The Comitia Centuriata was instituted in the mythical times of Servius Tullius, the idea being to unite in that assembly, in one body, all the different sections of the Roman people. But as said above, a knowledge of these details is here presupposed.

Development of the three Comitian assemblies.

It is also assumed that the nature of the Roman senate is well apprehended, and of the consular government, which was the dominant feature of the official state under the republic. We here speak of Roman law, of the sources of its derivation, of the means of making it and applying it through the courts. We shall not, however, discuss again that part of

Roman law to be viewed in its sources; lawmaking; courts.

jurisprudence which related to the familia, to the institution of marriage, to such bottom principles as *patria potestas*, and the unwritten customs derived from jus, but rather those later and more formal proceedings by which Roman society was regulated.

One of the earliest and most important questions to which the attention of the rising Roman people was called, was the ownership and distribution of land. It is not known certainly in what the original Roman freehold consisted. It has been supposed by some that Romulus himself, of whom the expression *jura dedit* is used, namely, "he gave *rights*," divided the little territory under his dominion into estates of a certain extent, assigning one estate to each member of the populus Romanus, and that this was the origin of absolute title under the Roman constitution. It is thought also that even at this early period a certain portion of the territory of Latium was set apart for the maintenance of the state, or, as we should say, a public domain, and that this was the foundation of the *ager publicus* of the Roman people. Against this was that other part of the lands of Latium to which the name *ager privatus*, or private lands, was applied; and this was the portion which the mythical kings were wont to let out in freeholds to the citizens.

The ager publicus and ager privatus of the Romans.

The homestead in these primitive times was called the *heredium*. It consisted of two *jugers*, or about one and a fourth acres of land. Of this, the head of the household was the absolute owner, or more particularly, the household itself was the owner. For the heredium, as the name implies, was hereditary, passing by descent, after the father's death, to his family, his heirs. It is believed that in the times of the kingdom the gentes held certain portions of territory in their corporate capacity, and that these clan lands were limited in transmission to the familiæ of that particular gens. In course of time the extent of the freeholds was widened to two and a half, and then four and a half, jugers. There was thus fundamentally a derivation, under the Roman system, of land title from the king, or if not from the king, from the clan, or gens.

Nature of the freeholds; enlargement of heredium.

But not all titles were so derived. The patrician citizen might purchase a freehold directly with money, or he might exchange his heredium for the heredium of another. There was, indeed, less rigor with respect to landownership and the transfer of title than might have been expected in so ancient a society, and particularly in one so rigidly constituted as was that of Rome. Thus, for instance, one of the earliest modifications in the original system was that by which the paterfamilias extended his landownership. As with the growth of Roman society he became patronus as well as paterfamilias, as a clientage grew up around him, he must provide for his retinue; and this he did by a system of land-tenantage. He enlarged his estate and established his clients thereon. The patricians were allowed to extend their domain into the ager publicus, and such extensions of right were called *possessiones*, or possessions, rather than property. Here was another link which bound together public and private interest, and made all things one under the Roman constitution.

Comparative facility of landownership; the possessiones.

If we pass to consider movable, that is personal, property, we shall find that its earliest forms were two in number —cattle and slaves. There is something rational in that concept which makes

Cattle and slaves as personal property; other personalty.

living stock the most movable of movables; and the same may be said of human chattels, when such species of property is recognized. It has been claimed that outside of cattle—that is, domestic animals—and slaves there was no such thing as personal property, more particularly movable property, among the primitive Romans. But this is true only on the positive side. Negatively, the personal possessions of the early Roman might not be invaded by another. Negatively, the property was his against all claims of invasion, of fraud, of robbery. He could to this extent maintain his rights. But the positive right of transfer perhaps did not exist except in the case of things animate. The living properties might be driven from place to place with the change of the heredium, or transferred by sale, at the will of the possessor. It thus happened that the law was good for all kinds of property as against theft, robbery, or any sort of violence, but was not good absolutely for sale or transfer. Doubtless the bottom idea in this view of property was that personalty, with the exception of cattle and slaves, attached itself to the heredium rather than to the paterfamilias. There was a sense in which the paterfamilias owned the slaves and herds different from the sense in which he held his other personal property. The latter tended to a construction in unity with the heredium.

LANDSCAPE OF THE AGER PUBLICUS OF ROME.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

Close up to this land-holding and property-holding of the early Romans

we must consider their law of succession, the rule by which property was transmitted after the death of the owner. This was quite similar to the usage of modern times. There was, however, an exception between those of his children who were *in potestate*, under authority, and those who were *ex potestate*. This distinction was generally coïncident with the marriage or nonmarriage of the sons and daughters. The unmarried were in potestate. The married, especially the sons, were—or at least might be—ex potestate; that is, out of the power of the paterfamilias. If the married sons chose not to become independent, they could still remain in the familia of the father. But generally with the marriage of the son he was detached into a separate household, retaining, of course, his membership in the ancestral gens.

Law of succession; in potestate and ex potestate.

At the death of the paterfamilias his estate, both real and personal, descended to his widow and to his children in potestate, in common. That is, under the law, they shared the property among them equally. If there were no heirs, that is, if the paterfamilias, as sometimes happened, outlived the other members of his family[1] and died intestate, his property, both movables and immovables, reverted to the gens and became a gentile possession. When the plebeians who were admitted to citizenship in subsequent times died without heirs, their property could not well revert to a gens; for the plebeians were not gentiles. The Roman law, therefore, devised for this emergency a factitious class called *Agnates*, who inherited intestate plebeian property.

Reversional right to the gens; the Agnates.

The law of testament, or will, was certainly as old as the kingly period of Roman history. There were two methods of composing a last testament for the devise of property. The first was a formal statement and writing in the presence of the Comitia Centuriata, where the instrument was attested and recorded. The second was called *testamentum in procinctu factum*; that is, a will made before battle. The act contemplated some sudden emergency in which it was desirable for an owner of property to decide in what way it should be disposed of in case of fatal accident to himself. Such was the ancient usage. In course of time the curiæ became simply the depositaries of wills which had been legally attested by the peers of the testators. On the whole, the right of devising property by testament as thus practiced by the Roman race, even in the mythical ages, was not essentially different from the same right as recognized in the jurisprudence of modern nations.

Two kinds of testament; modern usage of Roman origin.

The early regularity and precision of the system of property-holding here delineated became a part of the strength of Rome long before the institution of the republic. Strangely enough, it was destined also to be a source of vexation and danger. Those ancient property rights had respect primarily to patricians only—to that true populus Romanus whose name, in association with that of the senate, constituted to the latest day the verbal legend and symbol of Roman power and authority. But already on the horizon of primitive Rome rose the tremendous shadow of plebeianism. How should the plebeians acquire land? Should they be admitted to freeholding in common with the patres? Should their rights of property in immovables

Property rights the dangerous reef in Roman history.

[1] In such cases a paterfamilias constituted in himself a whole familia.

and movables be of the same kind with those of the dominant order? Here was the rub. If the question had related merely to the admission of the plebeians to that indefinite and somewhat indeterminate fact called citizenship, the problem might have been more easy of solution than it was. It involved, however, the right to acquire land and to hold all properties by the same tenure and conditions as did the patricians of ancient Rome. When we consider the inextinguishable jealousy of property, the hostile attitude which it has immemorially assumed to all invasion and disturbance, we may perceive the fundamental difficulty with which the legislators of Rome were destined to be embarrassed through generations and centuries.

The law of contract was not developed at so early a date as were many other branches of Roman jurisprudence. It has been claimed that under the kingdom, at least to the time of Servius Tullius, no proper law of contract was in existence. But when we critically examine the condition of Roman society at the time we must conclude that, to a certain extent at any rate, such a law had appeared; for the simplest form of buying and selling—even barter—requires a contract between the parties. Wherever houses are occupied by others than the owners; wherever labor is exerted for other than one's self; wherever property is used by other than its possessor; wherever a common carrier is employed, there must be at least the rudiments of a law of contract.

Evolution of the law of contract.

We can, however, discern in Roman society of the early ages many reasons for the late appearance of such a law. We have seen how little addicted were the primitive Romans to commerce or to any intercourse other than war with foreign tribes. War under the dominion of civilization introduces many agreements and compacts between the parties, but in barbarous and half-barbarous ages it knows no law but violence. Again, the peculiar bottom organization of the Roman people into familiæ gave gradually local, or home, independence —made each familia more complete in itself, more able to supply its proper wants without appeal to others—than did any other system of social development. To this extent the anti-commercial instincts of the Roman race were encouraged and intensified rather than abated. The necessity for making contracts, for the discovery and establishment of rules whereby they should be made, was reduced to a minimum, and the law of contract lagged to a later age.

Late appearance of contract explained by social conditions.

If we inquire in what manner, therefore, in the absence of such a law, the engagements of Roman with Roman were sanctioned and made valid, we must appeal to the character of the race. From the earliest days this people had respect to a divine obligation which was impersonated under the name of *Fides*, or Faith. What fides required must be done. Whoever should violate his faith would subject himself to the frown of the pontifical officers. Aye, more; he would be subjected to such punishments as those officers might inflict, and to consequent disparagement among his fellows.

The appeal to Fides; usage of promittere dextram.

These forces tending to right conduct were felt in an unusual degree among the Romans. In order to signify their faith they invented the symbol of clasping right hands. This form of touching the person of another existed in the East, in connection with other ceremo-

nies of salutation; but the taking of the right hand in the sense of a pledge of good faith was a Roman usage, and obtained among the Roman people anciently a significance and universality which it had never borne before. The tract. It was believed by the Albanian fathers that Fides had her residence in the palm of the right hand, from which it followed that palm joined with palm was equivalent to the interchange of faith.

TUMULT IN THE FORUM AT ROME.

phrase *promittere dextram*,[1] to stretch out the right hand, was in everyday use in primitive Rome, and was made to take the place of a more formal law of con-

[1] In the first word of this phrase, in the form of *promissum*, we have the original of the English word "promise," the sense of which still preserves the idea of a pledge under good faith.

Another method of securing the fulfillment of those pledges which were made in early days at Rome was the pawning, or hypothecation, of some property to bind the parties to the fulfillment of their respective parts. After the engagement was fulfilled the prop-

Hypothecation a means of securing fulfillment of pledges.

erty so pledged must be returned to the original owner. While it was in pawn it did not in the full sense belong to either of the parties. For if it were stolen the person in whose hands it had been pledged could not be held responsible. If after fulfillment of the engagement the person holding should refuse to deliver to the person owning, there was in the earliest times no legal process to compel the recalcitrant to make restitution; but here again he was subject to the punishment of the pontifical officers, and was under disgrace for having violated confidence. It was thus, in the beginning of her career, that Rome bound her citizens by principles of morality rather than by principles of law to the performance of their pledges.

Personal compulsion permitted to enforce agreements.

Still another means was used of enforcing good faith. The individual was allowed the right of redress. Certain limitations were laid upon this principle of action, and the right was of course ultimately taken away by law; but in early times the individual might enforce, if he could, the duty of fulfillment upon the unfaithful contractor. It will be seen that this personal compulsion of another to keep a pledge was only the positive side of that negative self-defense which is still allowed among all civilized nations. There are many strange things of this sort in the history of human jurisprudence. Originally the man might defend himself against the positive injury of another. He might stand his ground and ward off the violence with which he was menaced, but he might also take upon himself the duty of enforcing upon another whatever he had wrongfully refused to do with respect to himself. Scarcely any of the ancient peoples refused this right to the individual. But long since the right of personal compulsion on the positive side has been taken away in modern legislation, but the negative part, that is, self-defense proper, is still allowable under all civilized codes. True, it is hedged about with many limitations and exceptions; but the existence of such a right, acknowledged as valid long ages after the positive prerogative of enforcing right upon another has been taken away from the individual, is a striking example of the strange aspects into which human affairs may grow.

Private avengement of injuries allowed with limitations.

What may be called the principle of vengeance was to a considerable degree admitted. As late as the days of Numa the kinsmen of a murdered man still had the right of destroying the murderer. But the laws of Numa provided that if the homicide were accidental, a ram's life might be substituted for the life of the man. There was a religious theory prevalent that it was the *duty* of kinsmen to destroy the life of him who had killed a member of their gens, else the *manes*, the soul, of him who was slain might not rest in peace. In the exercise of this right of vengeance we discover at a very early period the beginning of certain distinctions in modern law which are reckoned of prime importance in the administration of justice. There was the distinction between hot and cold blood. If the wronged husband should come upon the guilty wife and her paramour in *flagrante delicto* he might kill them both in passion. But if his wrath should cool by the lapse of some time, he might not then destroy the guilty, but must take the usual judicial course of punishment. In this fact we see the germ of that general tendency which will presently, under the auspices of this legal-minded race, substitute public for private law in all its jurisprudence.

The primitive Romans recognized three general forms of punishment for wrongdoing. It should be said in this connection, however, that there was in the early ages no clear discrimination between crime and sin—between an offense against the law of man and a violation of the will of the gods. Since the bottom principle of all Roman law was fas, and since fas was deducible from the eternal government of things, that is, from the absolute rule of all things and the will of the gods, a violation of human law seemed to be also a violation of the divine. What may be called vice, also, or the violation of the physical laws of life, was also confounded with the other kinds of infraction of law.

Three forms of punishment for wrongdoing recognized.

The names of the three general terms by which methods of punishment were distinguished pointed to the recognition of a divine element in all law. The first of these terms was *expiatio*, which may best be rendered by the word "satisfaction." The criminal in this case must *satisfy* for the injury which he has done. He must give an equivalent in some way, and thus expiate the wrong. The second term was *supplicium*, in which not only satisfaction was contemplated, but also the administration of punishment direct. In supplicium the idea of satisfaction was less prominent than the idea of punishment for the wrong. The word was derived from supplex, "one who prays." It signified originally the bending down of the body and of the will before the deities; but in the secondary sense it was the bending of the body to receive castigation for crime. The third term was *consecratio capitis;* that is, the "devotion of the life." The phrase *sacer esto*, that is, "let him be devoted, or given up," was the legal language employed in condemning a criminal by the comitia.

Nature of expiatio, supplicium, and consecratio capitis.

Under each of these general heads there was a great variety of punishment. That is, there were many legal methods of expiating injury, also many methods of administering supplicium, according to the kind of crime which had been committed. Capital punishment was by beheading or strangulation. It has been claimed by some that he to whom the phrase sacer esto had been legally applied was to be sacrificed to the infernal gods. But a very ancient phrase of the law declares *Nec fas eum immolari;* that is, it is not fas that the criminal should be *sacrificed*. Though he was put to death, it was not in the nature of an immolation.

Capital punishment; sacer esto was not sacrifice.

One of the reasons for the strong intermixture of moral and religious principles with the early jurisprudence of Rome was found in the complete supremacy of the paterfamilias over the familia, of which he was the head. Constituting as he did a personal court, he had only his own concept of fas and jus to guide him. Before the age of Servius Tullius the paterfamilias was a sort of judicial autocrat, who might administer justice over his familia even to the extent of excluding and interdicting the right of the state. He might in his capacity of judge take cognizance of every kind of crime. He might in his executive capacity administer every variety of punishment. He might inflict death, slavery, banishment from the gens, expulsion from the familia, imprisonment, chains, castigation, and indeed almost every kind of penal visitation known to the Roman law. It was one of the peculiarities of the early constitution of Roman society that there was no gen-

Explanation of mixture of moral principles with jurisprudence.

tile head; that is, no person or court standing in such relation to the gens as that occupied by the paterfamilias with respect to the familia. This circumstance augmented the prerogative of the paterfamilias. So great was his power, so far-reaching the extent of his jurisdiction, that to call him the feudal lord of primitive Rome would be to underestimate the variety and solid character of his prerogatives.

In course of time the laws and usages of Old Rome, derived as we have seen from the Roman concept of immutable principles over and above human life, began to be put into the form of enactment. Legislation came. The Comitia of the Centuries was constituted, then the Comitia of the Tribes, and the Concilium Plebis. Before these bodies of the people in their various capacities Roman jurisprudence began to be formed. It was in the year 302 from the founding of the city that the compilation of the Twelve Tables was undertaken. In this we see again illustrated the intellectual dependence of the Roman people upon the Greeks. A commission was sent into the Greek cities of the south to investigate the condition of their constitutions and laws. After the return of the commissioners a body of ten patricians was appointed, over which Appius Claudius was president. The work of codification was completed within a year, but the decemvirate was continued for a period to attend to supplemental legislation. The result of the labors of this body was that great underlying legislative enactment of the Roman people, called the *Lex XII Tabularum*—The Law of the Twelve Tables. Though Rome had not begun her existence with a written constitution, though, indeed, she had prosecuted her way for centuries without any such a guide, she now possessed a formal code to which appeal might henceforth be made as to a standard of immutable right.

Evolution of legislation; the Twelve Tables.

In the vicissitude of things the Twelve Tables perished; but not until after the lapse of several centuries. As late as the times of Cicero they were still in existence. Originally the laws were engraved, or more probably painted, on ten wooden tablets, which were set up in the forum, so that henceforth no man might plead ignorance of the laws of Rome. It was expected in subsequent times that the schoolboys of the state should commit these laws to memory. It was one of the standard exercises of the schools —another illustration of the strong legal character and bias of the Roman race.

In this brief outline of the legal constitution of Rome we can not, of course, enter into such details as would constitute the subject-matter of a formal historical essay. We may with propriety in the next place note some of the aspects or methods of legal action in the times of the kingdom and early republic. Great formality was one of the characteristics of whatever the Romans did. Particularly was this true of all subjects relative to jurisprudence. In legal action under the primitive laws one of the methods of procedure was for the parties to appear before the council, or the prætor, and there challenge each other as to any cause at issue between them. The ceremony was at once dramatic and religious in its aspects. A certain stake, or forfeit, called the *sacramentum*, was brought forth by each party and put into the hands of the officers. This was in the nature of a sacred pledge that each would abide by the decision of the tribunal to which appeal was now made. The preliminary having been attended to the question was remanded

Formality of Roman procedure; nature of the sacramentum.

to the judge, and it was his business to determine whose sacramentum, or pledge, had been offered in accordance with the principles of justice. But this superficial question involved a decision of the real issue between the parties concerning which the stake, or forfeit, had been pledged. When a decision was reached on the main question, he whose cause was reckoned just received back *his* sacramentum, while the stake of the defeated party was appropriated in the earlier times to religious uses, but afterwards to the revenues of the state.

Introductory processes before the tribunal.

A second method or "action of the law" was that the plaintiff should go before the prætor with a form of words thus: "I demand, O prætor, that thou appoint a judge or arbiter in my cause." This was the introductory process by which the cause of any one was open for judicial investigation. A third method had special reference to the question of debt, and consisted in a challenge made by the creditor to the debtor to go before a tribunal and *deny* that he was indebted so and so. The peculiarity of the process was that the challenge in this case required from the defendant a payment of one third more than the amount actually involved. This additional third was in the nature of a penalty for denial of the claim, if the same should be allowed.

Legal actions beginning with manus injectio.

A fourth manner of action had respect to the taking of the body of one who was a debtor or had confessed liability for debt. It was called legal action by *manus injectio;* that is, by the forcible laying on of the hand. Under this process the debtor was haled before the court in a very summary manner. In all of these ancient methods of judicial procedure we discover at least two circumstances of Roman character. The first was a certain formality and precision, advancing step by step in the ascertainment of civil issues; and the second was that severity of construction with respect to debt for which the legal procedure of all ancient nations is characterized.

A large part of the legal rights of a Roman citizen under the kingdom and

LICTOR WITH FASCES

the republic must be referred to the peculiar prerogative which a paterfamilias possessed under the name of manus. The manus was literally "the hand." It was the right hand of the house-father We have seen that Fides was thought to reside in the palm of the right hand. Technically, the manus of the paterfamilias was his right over his wife. All of the general prerogatives which the Roman theory of citizenship conceded to him with respect to her was generalized under the name manus; but the right was enlarged from its primary signification to include all the secondary prerogatives which the house-father derived from his marriage relation and his position at the head of the familia. So that a great many of his privileges and powers as a citizen of Rome were summed

Meaning of manus, and rights proceeding therefrom.

up and expressed under the term manus; and when he came to the exercise of these rights in matters of private obligation or in public judicature, he simply appealed to his manus in justification of what he had done, was doing, or was about to do.

Another part of the body was taken metaphorically to express a legal capacity. The whole civil personality of a citizen was called his *caput;* that is, his head. The caput might mean much or little, according to the extent and variety of his family relations. The principal element in the prerogative so called was the right of the citizen as a paterfamilias. This included the several subordinate rights called manus, potestas, and mancipium. In proportion as the familia was extensive, the caput of the citizen was enlarged; and in those cases where the familia was reduced to a single person, as it frequently was, being in that case the paterfamilias himself and no more, his caput was correspondingly reduced. This is to say, throwing aside the metaphor, that the head rights, or personal rights, of a citizen under the Roman constitution were multifarious and extensive, or limited and simple, according to the expansion or contraction of the familia of which he was the head.

ARTISTIC TYPES AND COSTUMES.—Augustus and Livia.—From the *Gemma Augustia.*

Fiction of caput, or head rights of citizenship.

These old theories of Roman citizenship were found existent in society at the time when the Twelve Tables were compiled; and they were not much changed by the legislation of the commissioners. The makers of the Tables accepted those principles of legislation and jurisprudence which the experience of the race through several centuries had preserved as the best expressions of Roman civil life, altering and amending some, confirming others, and perhaps abolishing a few. Some incidental peculiarities of this first great piece of formal legislation would be interesting to the student of Roman law, such as that fiction by which the married woman who desired, for reasons of property, to retain her independence must periodically absent herself for three nights from her husband's house, and also the other fiction that twelve months of informal marriage should be required to make it formal. But we pass to other branches of the subject.

Twelve Tables a compilation; fiction of the married woman.

We have had occasion to remark upon the substantial connection between the familia and the gens. In no part of the system was this connection more beautifully displayed than in the matter of guardianship. The gens was the theoretical guardian of all the wards of the familiæ composing it. The Roman law classified the members of the familia of a patrician into several groups. The sons and daughters in pupilage, that is, the true minors, constituted one class, the unmarried daughters above pupilage were another class, while the sons unmarried, but still in potestate, were another. There were also likely to be in the familia lunatic, or imbecile, members. Others were perhaps helpless or infirm, while others would be reduced to de-

Classification of the members of the familia.

CORNELIA AND THE GRACCHI—TYPES.

pendence and wretchedness by prodigality or crime.

These were the classes which in case of the death of the head of the family must be provided for under authority. Guardianship was contemplated in all cases of the death of the paterfamilias. It appears that in the early ages of the republic, before the publication of the Twelve Tables, there was no extant right of the paterfamilias to nominate a guardian for the members of his family in case of his own decease. This right was claimed and exercised by the gens. It was the duty of the gens, in council assembled, to appoint one of its members as tutor, or curator, for the wards of any familia whose head might be taken away, and such tutor, or curator was held accountable not to the familia, but to the gens, for the manner in which he exercised his trust. When it came however, to the formation of the constitution expressed in the Twelve Tables, it was deemed advisable to recognize the right of a paterfamilias to nominate the guardian who should come into office in case of his death. A maxim of the law came in and said: "As any one has legislated for his own [familia] let it so be jus." Herein the state, under the auspices of the gens took up and enforced the provisions made by the paterfamilias.

Right of paterfamilias in the matter of guardianship.

ROMAN CONSUL IN CURULE CHAIR.
From the original in British Museum.

A large part of the earlier constitutional provisions of Rome related to those obligations which the citizen might assume or which might be enforced upon him. Such obligations had respect for the most part to property *Delictum*, or crime, might also demand the fulfillment of an obligation, as of a fine or some service of the offender. But generally, the duty to be fulfilled was that obligation, always strongly enforced and old as the beginnings of human society, of one man to pay another—the obligation of debt.

Debt the primeval obligation recognized by society.

One must needs be surprised to see how large a part of the civil history of the ancient peoples hangs about the fact of debt. It began with the borrowing of something to eat, and ended in slavery. It began with a thoughtless promise, hastily and inconsiderately made and attested by some easy formal

Civil history of ancient nations turns about the question of debt.

ity such as primitive society was wont to invent, and ended with a difficult fulfillment, as the debtor has always found. It began with the giving of one sum by the stronger to the weaker, and the exaction of a larger sum to be given by the weaker to the stronger. The student of history will readily recall the fact that a large part of those dangerous seditions and insurrections which the desperate under-class of the population in ancient cities were wont to make, had debt as their substantial and provoking cause.

In the case of Rome, this question was especially vexatious. The ever-growing class of plebeians, with the ever-increasing cry of want, tended to the incurring of debt. The assumption of obligations on the part of the poor which could hardly be fulfilled under the hard conditions of the age, the return of scanty years, the frequent recurrence of war, and other calamities pressed hard on the under-classes of society; and the principle of hypothecation became the only resource of the borrower. One has only to read the story of republican Rome, as told by Livy, in order to realize the full import, the deep cursedness and desperation of the plebeians under the ever-increasing burden of debt. In order to save themselves from starvation, the very veterans who had come home from victorious war with the Sabines or the Samnites had to hypothecate first their homes and then *themselves!* It was utter ruin by two leaps down the precipice. The first platform on which the plebeian debtor landed was bankruptcy, and the second slavery.

Vexations and hardships of debt among the Romans.

In the old days, before the introduction of coinage, borrowing had already become prevalent. Under such circumstances the property was transferred and the debt incurred in kind. It was what may be called indebtedness by barter. In this case the process consisted in an application to the property holder for a loan of what was necessary to the borrower. When the amount and the terms of the loan had been agreed upon a certain formality was necessary. It was called the *Nexum*, a word signifying "a binding together." Scales were brought, and five witnesses were called

Primitive borrowing; introduction of coin and the balance.

COINS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE.

to represent the state. It was a public process, and the state was bound to enforce the fulfillment of the obligation. The property was weighed or measured out, and the borrower became bound for payment. When the coinage of bronze money came in, that medium was used between the borrower and the lender after the manner of modern times. Then the formula was changed, and the method of the contract was defined as being *per æs et libram;* that is, "by money and the balance." The parties came face to face, and the lender said: "Whereas,

with this coin and these copper scales I have given thee a thousand [or so many] *asses*, be thou, therefore, bound by the law of the *nexum* to repay them to me a year [or whatever the time] hence." Thereafter the borrower received his coin, and was legally bound.

It is impossible for us here to follow out this line of explication through the various details and developments of Roman custom and law. We are aiming to cite so much only as is necessary to exemplify the spirit of lawmaking and application under the usage of the Romans. It would be of great interest to extend and amplify the discussion; but the pressure of other subjects forbids what inclination and interest might suggest. Rome was preëminently the lawmaking state of the ancient world, and her historical relations with the nations of the West have been such as to transmit her usage and principles of jurisprudence to the most civilized states of modern times.

Rome became the lawmaking state of the world.

If we should set into one group all the great peoples who now employ, in whole or in part, the constitution and jurisprudence of Rome, and set over against them all those other states which have not been affected in their constitutional structure by the direct incorporation therewith of the constitutions and statutes adopted and perpetuated by the senate and the Roman people, we should instantly discover that the former group virtually includes the civilized nations of the world, while the latter group represents only its barbarous or half-developed peoples. This great difference, to be sure, is not to be referred to the existence in the one case and the absence in the other of the constitution and the laws of Rome considered as a cause or a drawback to the progress of civilization, but rather to the fact that the enlightened nations of modern times have found in the legislation and jurisprudence of Rome abundant cause for admiring and adopting, in whole or in part, that vast system by which the unity was preserved and the political purposes expressed of that nation which achieved the greatest and most permanent political success known thus far in the annals of mankind.

All civilized peoples under the influence of Roman law.

BOOK IX.—THE LATIN RACES.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE ITALIANS.

WE shall now turn to consider the ethnic life of what are called the Latin races of modern Europe. The power of Rome to give caste and character to the various peoples whom she subdued might be verified and illustrated with many examples. She absorbed into herself and incorporated with her own structure the outlying states in which her eagles were set up as the signs of domination and conquest. True, she conceded—such was her settled policy—a large liberty to her subject peoples. She permitted them in a considerable measure to retain the primitive customs which had come down to them respectively from the prehistoric tribes. But she knew full well that her own language, the learning of which she inculcated and enforced as far as practicable, would carry with it the laws and institutions which she herself had tested in centuries of war and by every civil emergency known in the history of states.

Policy of Rome with respect to her subjugated peoples.

Such proved to be the result. The states of Western Europe became Latinized. It will never be known in what precise proportions the old peoples, Celtic or other who had possessed the Europe of antiquity, contributed to the formation of the new peoples who succeeded them under the auspices of Rome. There was much intermingling, but the various peoples became Roman, or at least Romanic. The language of the imperial city, in many dialectical forms, but still the old language, usurped the tongues of barbarian Europe, and was heard from the Danube to the Thames, from the shores of the Baltic to the southern borders of Mauritania.

The subject races of Western Europe become Latinized.

At last came the collapse. Wealth, power, luxury, vice, effemination, the very excess of dominion, the oblivion of virtue, and the triumph of crime furnished the causes rather than the occa-

Collapse of the empire and the Roman people.

sion, while the barbarians became the occasion rather than the causes. After twelve centuries and a half from the time when mocking Remus leaped over his brother's walls, the city of the Cæsars went down before the impact of a battering-ram whose massive head was ironed with Teutonism, and whose beam was heavy with the providence of the world.

The conquering force, the barbarian races of Northern Europe, we shall consider hereafter. It remains in this connection to take up in their turn the various modern nations whose ethnic constitution points unmistakably to a Roman origin.

First of these we may consider the Italians. Historians are wont to define the chronological limits of Rome with the founding of the city 753 B. C., and the downfall of the Western empire 476 A. D. This immense period began with the reign of Romulus the Great, and ended with the reign of Romulus the Little. From the latter date the history of Italy begins. The division, as all divisions are, is arbitrary; for, as we have seen, history has no lines of demarkation. But we may properly place the beginning of Italy and the downfall of the empire at the close of the fifth century.

Chronological boundaries of the Roman race and ascendency.

OVERTHROW OF ROME BY THE BARBARIANS.—Entrance of Theodoric and the Ostrogoths.
From the painting by Herman Vogel.

Nearly all of that century had been occupied with the inroads of the barbarians. Alaric had been there with his hordes and had overrun the country. Virtually, he had conquered all except Rome herself. The final conquest of the capital and the expulsion of the pygmy Augustus, who nominally held the throne, were effected by Odoacer and his Herulians out of the north. His dominion in Italy lasted but twelve years, when he was succeeded by Theo-

ODOACER AND THE MONK SEVERINUS—TYPES.

doric, King of the Ostrogoths. For about sixty years the Ostrogothic rule continued, until it was supplanted by that of the Longobards, under Alboin, who fixed the capital at Pavia. The Longobard domination retained its principal seat in the north of Italy, but there was nothing in the south to resist its authority.

Incoming of the Herulians and the Ostrogoths.

Of all the foreign masters that had thus far appeared, Alboin and his successors were the most severe as it respected the descendants of the Romans. Next came the Frankish invasions from beyond the mountains, led by Pepin and the Carlovingian kings of France. We thus see a succession of sluices opened in the passes of the Alps, and one flood after another of barbarianism poured into Italy. But it does not appear that the policy of any of these northern invaders was very destructive so far as the original Roman, or Italian, population was concerned. The descendants of the Roman people were generally spared. True, their property was taken at pleasure. Again and again the lands of Italy were distributed among the conquerors. Again and again the cities and towns in which, by the necessity of the case, the old urban activities of the Romans were to a certain measure carried forward, were taken by battle, by siege, by assault. But it was not the policy of the Goths to destroy, to exterminate, the population of a province which they invaded. It remained for the Saxon invaders of England to set the most conspicuous example of the destruction of a vanquished people.

The Alpine sluices opened; state policy of the Goths.

At the time that Italy fell under the sway of the northern races she contained a Roman population having a uniform ethnic character from the Alps to Sicily. To be sure, the uniformity was not exact. The south was not the north. Foreign influences had, in course of time, injected into the Roman cities, and even the country side, large elements of alien blood. Rome herself in the days of the Cæsars might well remind one of some of the great modern cities which, by political and commercial intercourse, by the attractions which great capitals naturally afford, and even by the reflex results of wars abroad, have drawn into their precincts such masses of foreign population as to have become in some sense denationalized. But the ethnic type of the Romans was persistent and strong. The sturdy frame, the thick, heavy muscles, the prominent features, the dark eyes, the eagle nose, the coarse, utilitarian intellect for which the race had been noted under the republic, had been preserved in all essentials to the last days of the empire.

Character of the Roman race at the time of the overthrow.

It was with this original ethnic character of the Romans that the barbarian blood now began to be interfused. In course of time the northern invaders settled in Italy. Some choice districts they colonized. Over others the various chieftains asserted their sway, with a few followers. In some parts the old population was but little disturbed. It is the peculiarity of such situations that the various race elements ultimately come to an understanding and make peace. After that, the next circumstance is intermarriage. For some generations the sexual relation between the two or three peoples of a given district is to a certain extent unlawful—based on mere incidental passion such as is always inflamed into activity along the selvages of diverse communities. But at length regular and lawful marriage would set

The barbarians begin to amalgamate with the conquered.

in, and the old antagonisms would thenceforth rapidly disappear.

At first the Goth and the Roman came into unity. Even the Longobard of the Po valley was gradually assimilated to the common type. The Frankish conquest from beyond the Alps did not leave any very marked ethnic traces in Italy. Destiny had reserved for the Franks a career west of the Rhine rather than south of the Arno. It was four hundred years from the overthrow of Romulus the Little to the reign of Charles the Great. In this period the populations of Italy became ethnically interfused. They were beaten together. Old Roman and Goth, Longobard and Vandal, had disappeared in a new type called Italian, which, while it preserved many features of the original stock that had so long dominated the peninsula, had nevertheless taken such a secondary growth as the watersprout takes in springing from the roots of a dead tree.

The new interfusion of races in Italy.

Thus during the Middle Ages a new people was formed in the central peninsula of Southern Europe. The finishing touches were given to its character, that is, its mediæval character, by the Crusades. Italy became a sort of mustering ground for the northern bands on their way to the Holy Land. Many of the expeditions were organized from this base of operations, and the returning Crusaders first felt the influences of home on reaching Italy. Here, moreover, the papacy had its central seat, and this circumstance drew, through all the Middle Ages, a stream of visitors into the Eternal City. Many of these remained. Pious pilgrims visited Rome as the religious center of Christendom. Many and diverse race influences were thus shed abroad in the original seat of the empire.

Character of the nascent Italian race completed by the Crusades.

LANDSCAPE OF THE ARNO—SHOWING THE FIRST BRIDGE.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

The revolution by which the Roman race passed into the Italian race was one of the most astonishing transformations known in history. It would appear that almost every element of social, political, and religious life was completely reversed in the new order. Some traits of the Roman character remained, and still remain, to attest the race descent of the Italians. For the rest, everything was changed; the old form passed away, and the new form rose in its stead. Let us, then, briefly examine the Italian race, and note a few of the phases of its metamorphosis from the great original.

Striking transformation of the Roman into the Italian.

The first conspicuous trait which we notice is the change from Roman aggressiveness to Italian docility. History would bear out the assertion that the Romans were, on the whole, the most aggressive people of the ancient world. The disposition to make war was an unquenchable passion from the first. The rise of the Roman people to influence and power, first in Central Italy, then in the peninsula, and then through all the Mediterranean kingdoms, was by conquest. If there was no excuse for war, it was the policy of Rome to make one. Read, for instance, the report made by Cæsar himself of the *reasons* which he discovered for attacking the Gaulish and Teutonic nations north of the mountains. The pretexts are flimsy in the last degree. He "deemed it unsafe that a populous and warlike nation of barbarians should gather in such numbers on the open confines of a state which lay next to a people who bordered on a Roman province!" The cause is sufficiently attenuated; but it sufficed for the extension of Roman dominion through all Gaul westward to the Atlantic.

Aggressiveness the leading feature of Roman activity.

MEN OF THE ROMAN TRANSFORMATION—JUSTINIAN.

Cæsar was typical of the Roman character. In truth, Rome ceased to flourish when she ceased to conquer. It happens in the case of the individual that when his dominant passion, the ruling sentiment of his nature, can no longer be gratified, can no longer be fed with its natural food, he begins to fail in power; his activities contract to a narrower circle, and in the course of a few years he becomes useless and inane. With people it is even so. A race has a prevailing characteristic. That characteristic works out its own tangible and institutional results. Thus was it in Rome. The world could hardly satisfy her lust. Having reached the limits of the rational exercise of her ambitions she began to fail and sink. From her culmination in the time of the Antonines, her decline was constant and her collapse inevitable.

Philosophy of decadence in the individual and the race.

This ethnic characteristic was completely reversed in the Italian race. Though the Italians have not been

wanting in enterprise, the spirit of aggression has wholly disappeared. It might be difficult to cite a single instance in which the Italians, or any division of the Italians, have of their own accord marched abroad for conquest. The energies of the race have been drawn in, so to speak, from the display

Reversal of ethnic characteristics in the Italians.

It might not be averred that the aggressive energies of the old Roman race perished with the empire. It would be more nearly true to indicate their reäppearance in the Italians *under other forms of energy*. It can hardly be doubted that it was the transformed activity and ambition of the ancient people that led

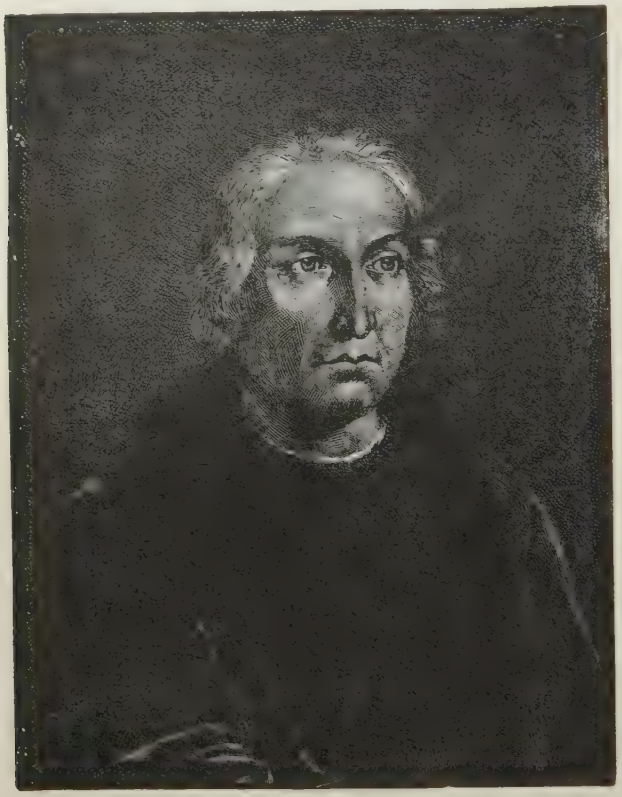
Aggressiveness of Rome reäppears in discovery and adventure.

SEACOAST TOWN OF ITALY.—Salerno.—Drawn by Alfred East.

of warlike prowess on foreign coasts. The Italian soldiers have been found scattered singly and in companies through many of the armies which have marched to and fro over Europe since the Middle Ages. But such appearance is always to be accounted for by foreign influence which has drawn upon the Italian states for the material of war.

to the issuance from mediæval Italy of those adventurers and discoverers whose voyages across distant and unknown seas opened new continents to the contemplation of mankind. The student of history is well aware that almost all of the great discoverers who made the close of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century to be the most famous period in human annals for

the extension of geographical knowledge, came forth from the seacoast towns of Italy. The very spirit which had been wanting in the ancient Romans now appeared, as if by reäction, among the Italians. They who had been last among the ancient peoples to embark upon the deep sea; they who, though peninsular in their abode, had shown such a positive aversion to maritime enterprise and exploration, had strangely enough given birth to a descendent people who were destined to lead all nations in the extent and variety of the geographical discoveries with which they enriched the rising nations of Western Europe.



COLUMBUS.
From the painting in the palace of the Minister of the Marine, Madrid.

No other group of men—and we might say no other age—contributed so richly to the expansion of the human mind, to the elevation of its concepts, as did the seafaring adventurers who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries issued from the Italian cities. Columbus was the man of Genoa; Magellan was the man of Florence; and the two Cabots were the men of Venice. They were the transformed Scipios and Cæsars who had preceded them by forty-five generations. It was no longer aggression against foreign nations, no longer the conquest of the human race, no longer the lust for dominating subject peoples, but the ambition to know the world, to traverse the vast and star-roofed ocean, to visit far-off islands and unknown shores behind the sea.

Transformed Scipios and Cæsars of the fifteenth century.

In the ages of which we speak the other states of Europe, even the Latin states which by the survival of literature and the potency of the Roman Church were most advanced in learning and ambition, had to draw from Italy especially from her republican cities, the genius which they were unable to produce for themselves Notwithstanding the timidity of the Italian character, notwithstanding the subsidence of the old warlike ambitions of the race, the mind of mediæval Italy revealed remarkable energies in its goings forth, remarkable courage in the solution of all physical problems. Geography was one of these. The time had now arrived when the empirical systems which had prevailed from the days of Ptolemy were to give place to the beginnings of scientific geographical knowledge.

Scientific development of Italian mind in the Middle Ages.

But geography was not the only problem which the early Italians were destined to solve. It was devolved upon the same people, and virtually upon the

same age, to lay the foundations of what the modern world has called natural philosophy. The interpretation of nature up to this age had been mythological, poetical. The Italians had the discernment to discover at least the primary traces of those steadfast and beneficent laws by which natural phenomena are governed. This disposition of the mediæval Italians to peer into the secrets of nature was not limited even with the confines of our planet. The same cities that had sent forth the navigators by whom the trackless oceans were reduced to a chart were now destined to receive the first actual revelation from the stars. Galileo was a Pisan, and afterwards a man of Florence and Rome. Within forty-five years after the first colony of White men was established in the New World, the crescent horns of Venus and the four satellites of Jove were first seen by the eyes of man. It was the work of an Italian.

The first principles of physics were discovered in the same age. Men began to understand the laws of sound, of heat, of light, of galvanic magnetism. Italy was the harbor of this intellectual activity. Within her cities the mind of man was more luminous than in any other part of Europe or the world. To what extent the persistency of the old race, the blood and intellectual force of ancient Rome, had penetrated the new people who were rising to the mental dominion of Europe it were impossible to say; but we know that the Italian mind with its beneficent activities in the sixteenth century foreran the intellectual achievement of all the other Western peoples.

Though everything was broken up and local, it appeared that the energies of generations were concentrated in the little republics with which Italy now abounded. With the retreat of the human mind from the broad domain of political and warlike activity among the nations, with its recession into walled cities, its energies were turned to intellectual and scientific questions, the solution of nature and the scientific statement of physical laws. Art also revived in new forms. It is indeed a strange fact that in the very lap of the Rome of old, of that Rome who had no artistic genius of her own, there should

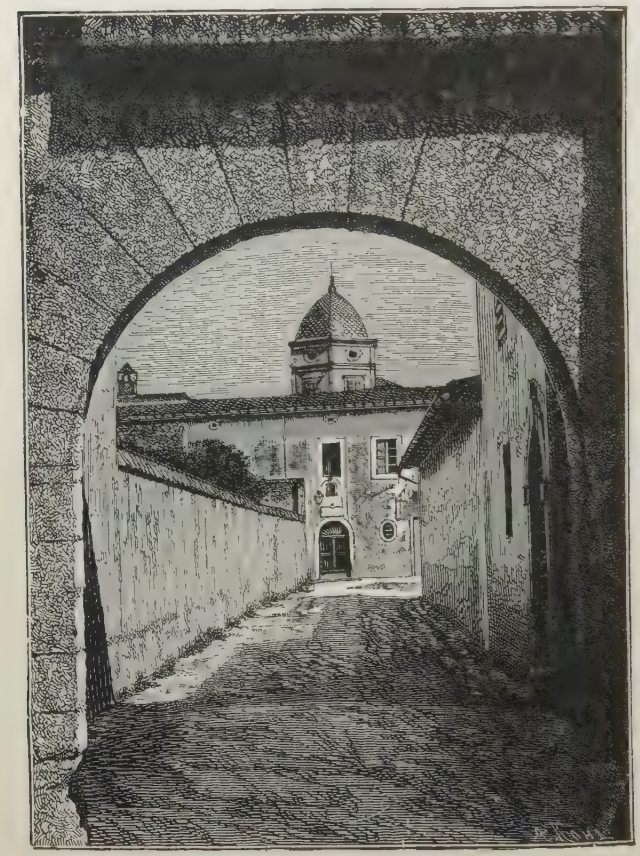
Revival of genius and art in the Italian cities.

FERNANDO MAGELLAN.
From the painting in the palace of the Minister of the Marine, Madrid

Italy becomes the harbor of intellectual activity.

have sprung a new tree of artistic development which at the present day, after the lapse of three or four centuries, gathers under its shade the art students and connoisseurs of all nations.

It has been conceded by historians that among the cities built by men Athens was entitled to the first rank on the score of the intellectual grandeur of her citizens; that is, with a comparatively limited population, the Athenians of the great age of the democracy could reckon a larger number of really great men than have ever existed at the same time in any other city of the world. It is safe to extend the estimate on the scale of intellectual grandeur and assign the second place to Florence. We speak of Florence as she was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It can not be doubted that at that time, though she was by no means a great or populous city, she might fairly claim a comparison with the intellectual splendor of classical Athens. To the student of history the list need not be repeated of those distinguished Florentines who were easily first in their respective fields of activity. It is not often that any single city in the precincts of our poor continents has been glorified with such a list of names as Dante, Boccaccio, Guicciardini, Macchiavelli, Vespucci, Verrazzano, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Alfieri! It is an inheritance of which the traveler from a foreign land may well be proud as he stands in the churchyard of Santa Croce, where the greater number of those illustrious men are buried.



HOUSE OF GALILEO.
Drawn by A. Kohl, from a photograph.

Florence becomes the Athens of the mediæval epoch.

No student of Roman history will have failed to note the political centralization, the unity, the compactness, the immovable structure of Roman society. This is said of that society considered as a civil and political organism. The strength of that great power was its unity, its singleness, the absolute subordination of all the varied elements under one dominant fact, the state. With the idea of this ancient edifice clearly in mind, we shall be all the more surprised on turning to Italy to discover that in this respect also there was in the Middle Ages and has continued to modern times a complete reversal of the ancient order. That feature of the mediæval society which first catches the attention is its complete dissolution, the

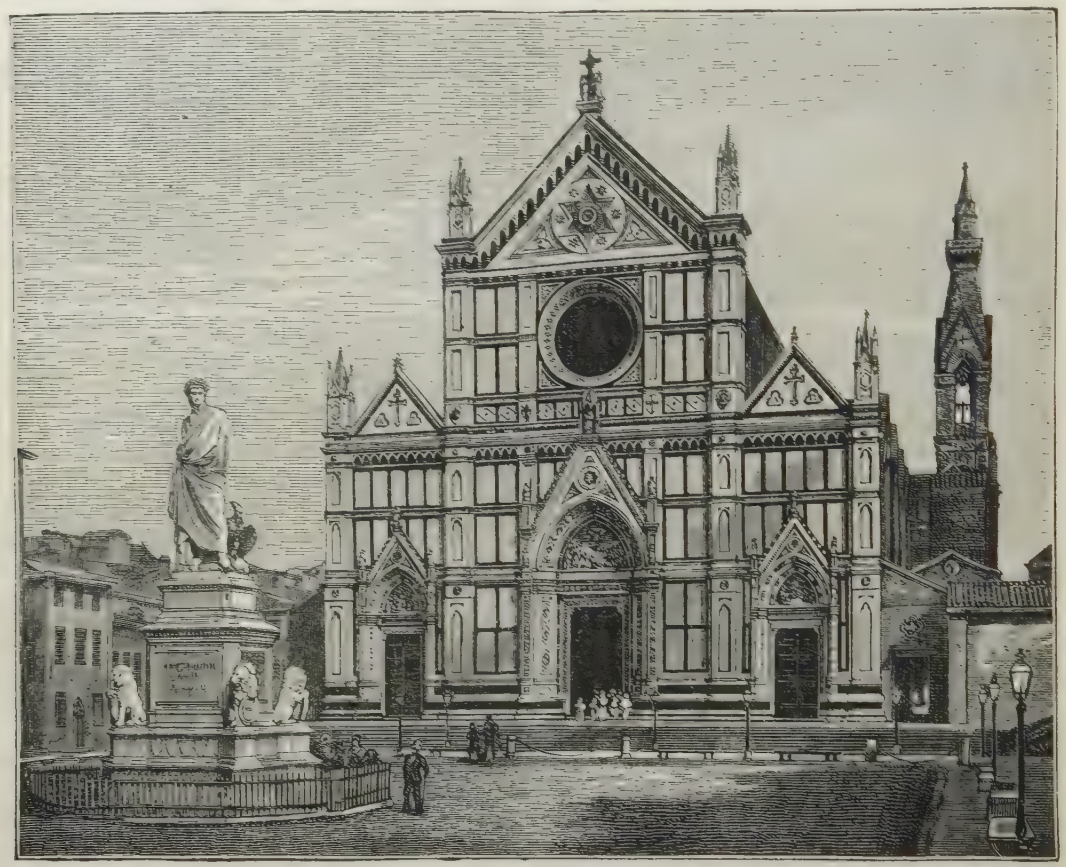
Political order of the Romans reversed by the Italians.

segregation of the several units, the universal break-up and separation of the Italian people into local dependencies and independencies so alienated and antagonistic that no principle of historical unity can be discovered among them. They were so unlike the original structure of the great people who preceded them in ancient times, so changed in nature, as to suggest the lapse of ages, the rise of another race, and the transfer to another continent.

DANTE ALLIGHIERI.

This political retrocession of the Roman race was not, however, a lapse into feudalism such as was seen in the same centuries north of the Alps. The retrograde movement in Italy was in the direction of republicanism and municipality. It is true that the feudal principle came down from the north, and that Roman form which political society took on in each of these municipalities was republican in its first intent and despotic in its secondary development. Certain princely and noble families generally succeeded in the course of time in monopolizing the powers of the state and in perpetuating the usurpation to their descendants. Thus did the Medici in

Republicanism and municipality replace the empire.



CHURCH OF SANTA CROCE.

society in a certain measure conformed to the fashion of the age; but it was into the towns that primitive Italian society gathered itself for protection and refuge.

Almost every city of Italy of any importance became the center of a local government. One must needs be reminded of ancient Greece in contemplating the condition of Italy from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The Florence. From Venice on the east to Genoa on the west, from the foot of the Alps to the strait of Messina, the whole country was divided into petty principalities, having a city as the central fact in each and local government as its political peculiarity.

Nature of political society in the cities of Italy.

The history fully set forth of any one of the mediæval Italian republics—its manner of life made manifest in an authentic and adequate narrative—would constitute

one of the most interesting works to which the attention of the student of human affairs could be directed. But it is not our purpose to enter upon so vast and interesting a field of inquiry. It is sufficient to note the astonishing activity of the Italian people within the circle of their little cities. Political discussion broke out. Popular tumult was frequently the order of the day. Faction divided the people into parties, and one might well believe that he heard again the voice of the Greek demagogue in the streets.

Great, indeed, had been the transformation of the forum and the senate into this new aspect of democratic agitation. Meanwhile religion in another form had taken possession of the race. The Christian faith, after generations of hardship, had struggled up to recognition in the times of Constantine. Thenceforth there was an alliance between the imperial system and the new faith. At times the compact was broken, and again and again the sword of persecution was unsheathed against the followers of the Galilean. But at length Christianity became predominant. Wherever the imperial eagles had been, there the cross was established. It were long to trace the gradual ascendency of the bishop of Rome, the claim and contention of that prelate for the primacy of the whole Church, and his final success. The formal acknowledgment of the pope as the

Italian race aids the ascendency of the Roman Church.

LAWLESSNESS OF MIDDLE AGES.—Attack of Italian Bandits.

head of Western Catholicism had a great local significance as it respected the city of Rome. That was the seat thenceforth of the great hierarchy which had been established with so much difficulty and by so much conflict. The Christian faith as set forth and practiced by the Roman Church was a dominant fact in all of the mediæval cities of Italy. The bishop became a countervailing force against the great oligarchy of the Italian nobles. Sometimes he was in opposition to them, sometimes in union with them. Any view of Italian society which omits him from consideration would be extremely imperfect and misleading.

TYPE OF MEDIÆVAL ITALY—BIANCA CAPELLO.
Drawn by Thiriat, from the painting in the Galerie des Offices.

It were hard to conceive of any situation more conducive to debate, to faction, and political conflict than that which was presented in the Middle-Age republics of Italy. Each was a stormy arena; and the peculiarity was that the cyclone of agitation was generally limited to the city walls. There was much petty warfare abroad, for the states were rarely at peace the one with the other; but the internal agitation was the principal fact. However bitter this strife may have been, however distressful to human happiness, it can not be denied that its effect was greatly to quicken the energies of the human mind.

Italian republics the scene of faction, debate, and progress.

We are here noticing the bottom causes of the extreme vigor displayed by the Italian intellect in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It appears to be the law of nature that agitation, disturbance —shall we say suffering?—are necessary to the growth and vigor of the mental powers. No oak or cedar or banyan has ever yet been produced in the shelter of a conservatory. It is the wild exposure of the bleak hill, the vast plain, the storm-shaken mountaintop on which the great growths of the natural world are set and established. Perhaps we might wish that the blasts of contention should not blow in the arena of human life; but the result would be weakness, effemination, decline. In the Italian cities there was strife. All manner of discord and turbulence were present. Distress and persecution made bitter the souls of men; but activity and strength came with contention, and the beauty of art was seen above the raging of tumult and the violence of mobs.

Agitation and distress conditions of intellectual greatness.

The student of literature, if he fix his

attention intently on the problems before him, will discover in the lives and works of men in every epoch of history a reflex of the social condition and even of the incidental hardships to which the mind has been exposed. Milton could not sing his heroic songs without complaining of his blindness and of the evil days and evil tongues among which his life had fallen. More particularly is this saddening background discoverable in the literature of mediæval Italy. What dolor can be more intense than that which darkens the poems of Dante? What personal bitterness and suffering are depicted in all his works! Scarcely less, though in a different form, is the shadow on the philosophical pages of Guicciardini, while the works of Macchiavelli have made his very name a synonym for deliberate cunning and even the policy of perfidy openly avowed as the elements of international law!

Sorrows and conflicts of the mind reflected in literature.

VIEW IN PISA —CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER.

Strange it is that while literature thus reflects the true sorrows and conflicts, the anguish of the inner life, in the age to which it belongs, the music and art of the same age rise like blossoms from

But music and art rise above the anguish of the age.

the same sorrowful conditions, but bear no traces of the underlying griefs. After the great age of Greek painting, hidden in the past by the shadows of fifteen hundred years, nothing comparable with the work of the mediæval Italian artists had appeared. It would seem that the genius of the transformed Roman race was all concentered in the glorious canvases which began to be produced with the revival period in Italian history. As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, first in Lucca and Pisa, and soon afterwards in Siena, the evidence was seen of what the Italian mind and hand were destined soon to accomplish. Then came the Florentine school, surpassing all others in the excellence of its work. The subjects at first were almost exclusively religious; that is, Christian. For the spirit of the faith had now permeated all classes of society, and the representation of biblical scenes and personages became a passion with the early painters. Incidents in the life of the Christ or from the Old Testament Scriptures were chosen and idealized as never before.

Magnificent outburst of Christian painting.

In this work a considerable draught was made on pagan art, but the spirit of paganism gave place to the spirit of Christianity. Such subjects as the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Baptism of Christ, the Madonna and the Child, the Prophets and the Saints, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Last Supper, the Ascension, were seized upon by the Italian painters, and glorified on their canvases. Every Italian city had its cult and its group of artists. The Umbrian school flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Then came the schools of Padua, of Arezzo, of Venice, of Brescia, of Verona, of Ferrara, of Bologna, of Modena and Parma, of Cremona, of Rome, and finally of Naples. No such artistic activity in the matter of painting had perhaps ever been witnessed as that which prevailed in the republican cities of Italy between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century. It appeared that the pent-up genius and energy of the ancient race had found a vent in the canvas and the easel.

Italian sculpture rivals that of the classical ages.

Sculpture also began to flourish. True, it was not the sculpture of the classical ages. It may have lacked in the majesty and humanity of the Greek and Roman masters, but it had elegance and refinement. It had ideality and beauty. It had freedom of concept and delicacy of execution. Less heroic than the art of antiquity, it was scarcely less divine. Now it was that the marble treasures of the great quarries of Carrara began to shine under the chisels of artists whose names are the synonyms of excellence among all modern peoples Now it was that bronze began to take new forms of development under the genius of the Italians.

Special features of plastic art; the great sculptors.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Niccolo da Pisa flourished a new impulse and direction were given to the artistic development of the human race. Already the great cathedrals of mediæval Europe had begun to arise. The necessity for their decoration called forth the best genius of artists. The execution of bronze doors and baptistries provoked the highest efforts of the best minds of the age. Sculpture was rapidly developed in the fourteenth century by Giotto, who followed the example of Da Pisa. A grander epoch was reserved for the fifteenth century, an epoch which has been named the Golden Age of modern sculpture. Perhaps the masterpiece

of this era of great achievement was Ghiberti's celebrated bronze doors for the baptistry of the cathedral of St. John, in Florence. To the present day the artist from strange lands afar stands in wonder before this splendid work of a mediæval Italian hand. In the same age flourished Donatello and Brunelleschi, who were the rivals and friends of Ghiberti. The statues of Saint Mark and Saint George from the chisel of Donatello have transmitted his fame and have drawn the æsthetic sympathies and admiration of art students in every civilized country; and of Italy it may truly be said that the revival of the political spirit in the nineteenth century has fortunately not proved—as it has so often elsewhere proved—to be the paralysis and death of art.

Les miserables chantant—the unhappy are the singers! It is one of the strangest facts in the history of human life that song has been a product of misery

MEDIÆVAL ITALIAN ART.—ADORATION.—Drawn by Bazin, from photograph of the terra cotta original, in the Convent of La Verne.

given him a high place among modern sculptors.

But it were useless to attempt to delineate in regular narrative the story of sculpture in the hands of the Italians. It is a single record of great achievement from the day when the two Pisani of the thirteenth century laid the foundation to the day when Michael Angelo completed the edifice. Nor has modern Italy failed to perpetuate the fame and to emulate the example of her great artists of the Middle Ages. For more than five centuries the Italian studios

Modern Italy perpetuates the fame of her Middle Ages.

On the other hand, the happy have not sung. By this is meant that the *producers* of song, they in whose spirits and on whose tongues music as an art has been *born*, have been they who were suffering from oppression and distress. In all countries the slaves have outsung their masters. The happy Greeks were not singers. They were not even lovers of music. To a certain extent they were excited and inspired by the shrill pæan of battle; and the genius of the race had produced a narrow gamut of four notes in which the primitive,

They who suffer and sorrow are the singers.

monotonous, and chant-like airs known to the people were sung. Nor were the great Romans a people of song. They had some admiration of music, especially for that produced by wind instruments; but it was rather the music of noise than the music of melody and art.

Spirit of song takes wing in Italian cities; musical instruments invented.

In the midst of the political and social wretchedness of the mediæval Italian cities the spirit of song spread its wings and rose into a new atmosphere. The age which witnessed the revival of sculpture and painting in the hands of the Italian artists witnessed also the development of modern music. Palestrina, born in 1524, was the first chapelmaster of Italy. He composed masses for four voices, and in 1571 became maestro in St. Peter's, at Rome. He was the forerunner of a great reform in the music of the Catholic Church. In his time keyed instruments were greatly improved. The organ, the virginal, the spinet, the clavichord, and the harpsichord became virtually what they are in recent times. The viol, the guitar, and the flute were brought into general use. In the latter half of the sixteenth century these instruments were introduced into the cathedral choirs, and became henceforth a part of all orchestral music.

GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA.

It was at this epoch that the violin also, in the hands of the Anati, was completed—brought to a beauty of form and finish and a sweetness of tone which have not been surpassed in the rarest instruments of modern manufacture. All the skill of nearly three hundred years has not been able in any essential particular to improve upon the Anati violins which were in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the same time, namely, in the last year of the sixteenth century, both opera and oratorio were introduced as the highest forms of musical composition. It was in Florence, and in the year 1600, that *The Death of Eurydice*, a tragedy, was first rendered. During the same year, at Rome, the oratorio was introduced in the form of a religious drama called *The Soul and the Body*. The music was by Peri, the same master who had composed the score of the Florentine opera.—Such were the beginnings of a musical development which, spreading from its original seat through the countries north of the Alps and westward to and beyond the Atlantic, has not yet, even in the hands of Gounod and Wagner, reached the limits of its expansion.

Violin perfected; coming of opera and oratorio.

It is one of the strange aspects of mediæval history that Italy, of all the European states, felt least the unifying political tendencies of the Crusades. In the feudal countries north of the Alps the institution of monarchy was rapidly developed as a result of the crusading agitation. Kingdoms sprang up on a large scale, and governments—using the

Centralization of government impeded by the papacy.

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH IN ROME.—Drawn by Andriolli.

word in its modern sense—began to show freedom and regularity of action. In Italy, however, where, reasoning *à priori*, we might have expected the largest result in the way of unification, there was really the least. The local jealousies, the inveterate animosities and hatreds of the noble Italian families, the persistency of the little oligarchies which had fastened themselves in the cities, withstood successfully any centralizing tendency which came as a result of the Holy Wars. Nor is it unlikely that the papacy, which by the thirteenth century had grown to be a vast political machine as well as a religious power in Europe, would look with favor on the building up in Italy of such a monarchy as might impede its own pretensions. It was by means of the conflicts, the jealousies, and mutual weakenings of the Italian states, the balancing of the one against the other, that organic Catholicism rose and stood. By becoming the arbiters of civil affairs in Italy, the popes were soon enabled to interfere in the movements of civil society beyond the Alps. So enormous was the growth and expansion, so unlimited the pretensions of this tremendous politico-religious organization, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the name and terror of the pope were felt in all the affairs of the northern kingdoms, even to the confines of Germany and the British Isles.

Baleful influences of the hierarchy in Italian republics.

It can hardly be now denied that this influence, so far-reaching, so terrorizing in its character, so full of portent and menace to all civil liberty, cast a baleful shadow over all European society. It was in the bright and active Italian cities that this shadow was deepest and darkest. It enabled the political factions to persecute each other with a bitterness never seen otherwhere in communities of equal enlightenment and progress. It was in this thick cloud, bordered all around with tongues of flame, that the proud and somber spirit of Dante struggled and uttered its cry. Petrarch, Ariosto, Boccaccio—over them all was the same ominous cloud. And as for Savonarola, is not there builded already for him, in the square of brilliant Florence, a platform of wood, a post with chains, and a lighted torch in the fagots underneath?

Sad condition of Italian society; what might happen to England.

We are able to see in all these conditions the antecedents of the miserable state into which the society of Italy fell, and from which it has not yet emerged. Few things in human history have been more pitiable than the social degradation of the great race whose ancestors had reared the strongest governmental fabric known in antiquity. The structure of the Roman empire might well be compared, not indeed in its essentials, but in its magnificence and strength, with that of the monarchy of modern England. What, then, should we say if in process of time the seat of British power should be wasted by barbarian invasions? if out of the ruins of the English race, in the home islands, another race should spring? if that other race should be broken up into petty municipalities, full of intellectual activities, but each jealous to the death of all others? if a great hierarchy should stretch out over them all its spectral hands and should encourage rather than stay the quarrels with which they were distracted? if in the midst of all the splendid artistic development and among the beginnings of a new national literature, poverty, squalor, and ignorance should prevail, and beggars should fill all streets?

The circumstances which we have above recited have for centuries together

stood in the way of the regeneration of Italy. Even the greatness of her local governments, the splendor and renown of her individual cities, have not been able to atone for the degradation of the Italian people. It were hard to say what wrongs and vices have not preyed upon the race and eaten into its heart. Take, for instance, the republic of Venice, and consider its history in its entirety. Not without its grandeur is this story, not without its heroism and its inspiration; and yet if we look into the inner state of the Venetian people during all the progressive centuries since the discovery of the New World and the reformation of religion, the aspect might lead from pity to despair. The same is true

MANNERS OF MEDIÆVAL ITALIANS.—Venetian Marriage.

VIEW IN VENICE.—The Riva del Schaivoni.—Drawn by John Fullevlove.

of the other Italian cities, even of Rome. Such has been the social distress, we might say anguish, of the Italian people that their writers for several centuries have scarcely had the heart to depict and deplore the sorrows of their countrymen.

Philosophy deplores the social sorrows of the race.

The civil mood of Italy in the Middle Ages was lawlessness. Strange that the seat of the great lawmaking race of antiquity should have become the seat of lawbreaking and defiance. Age after age went by with scarcely more than a shadow of a general authority. Even the Italian counts, who somewhat after the manner of feudal lords maintained a princely state in their castles, were little better than robbers. It was in these ages that Italy procreated the *banditti*. Both the fact and the name of this species of brigandage took the place of civil rule, and neither life nor property had further security.

Genesis of the banditti; beggary follows in the train.

As we come to recent times, the violence that characterized Italian society measurably disappears, but its place is taken by beggary. In no other country this side of Asia have the beggars as a class become so prevalent as in the cities of Italy. The reader is already acquainted with the lazzaroni, whose name has been adopted by foreign nations to express the unhappy race which inhabits the filth of almost every great metropolis. Life has seldom displayed itself in a more miserable guise than this. In it the moral and intellectual life has given place to the life of mere hunger and the habits of the dirt. The lazzaroni of the Italian cities, especially in the south, are almost below the level of insurrection. It is an element of society to be abhorred rather than feared—one of the worst facts which regenerated Italy has inherited from the past.

The rekindlings of patriotism among the modern Italians have brought in a new hope for the race. For centuries together Italy has been a sort of appanage, bought and sold and traded, tossed to and fro by the powers north of the Alps. Italian nationality was ground for ages between the Hapsburg and the Bourbon. The Bonapartes made the country of the Cæsars the football of their ambitions and intrigues. Even the diplomacy of the first six decades of the present century looked always askance at Italian nationality, and considered it a sort of side fact which the stronger would use or abuse as they might see fit. The papacy, meanwhile, has resisted with its full power the growth of a national sentiment, feeling itself stronger among the political ruins of the ancient land than it could be in the presence of a united Italy.

Impediments to the restoration of Italian nationality.

It is, therefore, with the highest hope that the patriots of all lands look to the political transformation of Italy. They who have had the good fortune to commingle with the upper classes of Italian society, with that strong and reviving secular society which carries in its hands the best destinies of modern Italy, can but have felt the reflected warmth and light of the fires which have been kindled on the new altars and fed by the strong and rational government of Victor Emmanuel and his son.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE FRENCH.

AS we have said, it is by no means our purpose to enlarge upon the great topics presented by the history and development of the Latin races of modern Europe. We are here looking at them simply from an ethnic point of view—considering them as the descendants of the Roman people. Having now merely touched upon the character of the Italians, we pass at once to the still greater development of the ancient race in a people north of the Alps—the French.

Latin, *Franci*, literally the *free;* old French, *Franceis*, *Franchois;* new French, *Français;* Spanish, *Frances;* English, *French;*—such are the names by which the great race between the Rhine and the Atlantic, between the lowlands of the north and the Pyrenees, has been known in history. Its genealogy is, like that of most other great peoples, exceedingly multifarious. The lines of descent would run back into ethnic shadows and darkness. We might say that the foundation is Celtic. *Galli* was the general name which the Romans gave to the primitive people whom they encountered north of the Alps. How Cæsar divided them according to race is known to all. The territories of the Belgæ were not coëxtensive with modern Belgium. They had their range between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne. This would take in certain parts of France, Germany, and Holland not now included in the kingdom which has perpetuated the ancient name of the people.

Ancestry, race descent, and boundaries of the French.

The position of the Aquitani is also easily determined. Their country was the southwestern division of Gaul. It lay between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the bay of Biscay. As for all the rest of that Gaul upon which the Roman legions were flung in the Cæsarian epoch, it was possessed by that people who, according to the language of Julius, were in their own tongue called *Celtæ*, but in Latin *Galli*.

It is to the Galli, then, that we may look as the true ethnic originals of the French people. The Gauls were undoubtedly Celts. They belonged to that great Aryan family which had for its other European divisions the Græco Italic and Teutonic nations. As we have seen in another part of this work, the Celtic tribes had come into Europe at a very early age, by departure from the Letto-Slavonic stem, and had passed through the northern regions in a course generally conformable to the coast of the Baltic. Afterwards they had doubled backwards from their extreme excursion into Spain, and had passed along the borders of the Græco-Italic peoples eastward into Asia Minor. It was, however, on the forward march that the Gaulish race had been deposited in the country west of the Rhine. Here the Celts had become a settled people; that is, settled after the manner of barbarians. They had not in Cæsar's time cleared away the forest or passed distinctly from the hunting into the agricultural stage of development; but they were in transition. The evolution had proceeded sufficiently far to give them an ethnic and national character. This fact is pointed out by the Roman writers, notably by Cæsar.

Place and character of the Gauls in the time of Cæsar

But the Gauls were not the whole foundation. The Belgians were said to differ much in language, institutions, and laws from the Celts of Gaul Proper. We might say that the original impulse which had carried the Belgic tribes into their seats was Teutonic rather than Celtic, but the admixture of Celtic blood had made the race composite before the days of the Roman invasions. The condition along the borders between the country of the Galli and the Belgæ was suggestive of the uncertain and variable ethnic phenomena which we see to-day along the Rhine, especially in Alsace and Lorraine.

Situation and features of the Belgic tribes.

In the extreme southwest were the Aquitani, who differed much from both the Gauls and the Belgæ. In the chapter devoted to ethnic classification we have already fixed the peoples of the ancient Basqueland and Iberia, found on the two slopes of the Pyrenees, among the Brown races, or on the Mongoloid stem. But the Basques also had become intermingled with the Celtic tribes. There was much fusion and mixture of language and manners. Thus, beginning with strong Teutonic features on the extreme east, journeying westward, we should in the days of Cæsar have come rapidly into a truly Celtic country, and after journeying among tribes of this family, we should in the southwest have come among another composite people, descendants of the ancient Basques, but largely interfused with Gaulish influences, called by Cæsar the Aquitani. Such was the true substratum upon which the Roman race was now to superimpose its language and institutions.

Mixed race character and interfusion of the Aquitanians.

A few time relations must here be borne in mind. The conquest of the barbarian states of Europe by the Romans had a general coïncidence with the Christian era. The ascendency of the Julian gens in Rome was, so to speak, coördinate with the extension of Roman power to the shores of the Baltic, the banks of the Danube, the Irish sea, and the straits of Gibraltar. The decline of the Roman power began to be distinctly felt on the borders of the barbarian realms about the close of the fourth century, but it required the total collapse of the empire to remove the restraints which Rome had extended over the diverse peoples subject to her dominion.

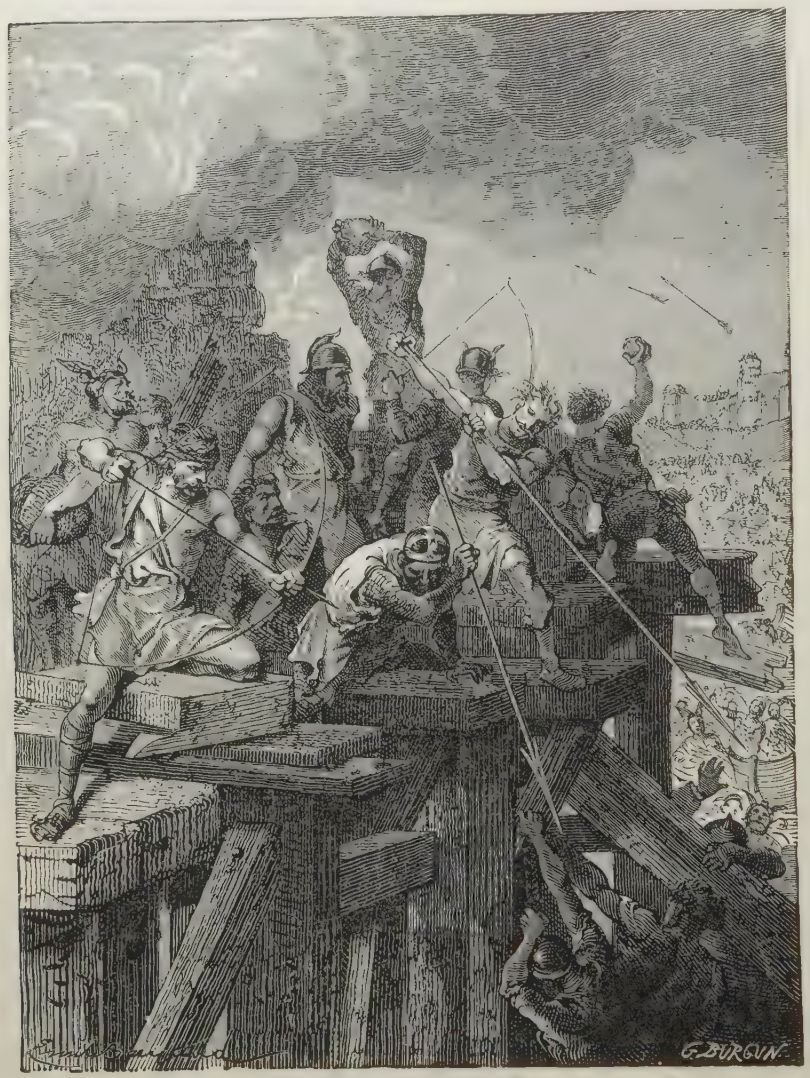
Five centuries of Roman domination over the Celts.

There was thus a period of between four and five hundred years during which Europe was administered from Italy. When we reflect upon the great changes in the aspects of civilization within the limits of a single century, we may readily apprehend the extent to which the rough peoples north of the Alps and the Pyrenees were transformed by Roman influence during the ages of its ascendency. Of all the states outside of the limits of Italy, Gaul felt most distinctly the domination of the Roman race. Many of the cities were completely Latinized. Roman colonies were established, especially in the south of France. The Latin language was taught in all the schools which were established between Marseilles and the Zuyder Zee. As to a history of this period of the true Roman ascendency over the peoples of Central Europe, it can never be adequately written. We know the method of the Roman provincial government, and have heard the story of wars breaking out incidentally here and there; but anything like a complete narrative of the transformation by which the Celts, the Galli proper, the Belgæ, and the Aquitanians were transmuted first into

The Gallic race gradually transformed and Latinized.

Gallo-Franks and afterwards into the French people is totally wanting.

We shall hereafter discuss the manners and customs of the Celtic race as they were shown in the tribal nations of Western Europe at the time of the Roman conquest. We here consider simply the development of that race under Roman and Frankish influences and amalgamations into the French people. The conquest of Gaul by the Franks was nearly coïncident with the destruction of the Western empire of the Romans. The withdrawal of Roman protection from the half-Latinized Celtic populations of the north, whether in Gaul or in Britain, left the peoples of these lands exposed to the fierce inroads of the Germanic invaders. Once more the reader must fix his mind upon the border line which Rome had established as the *thus far* of barbarism in the times of her power. From northwest to southeast across Europe lie the two rivers Danube and Rhine. This was the demarkation. Along these streams Rome planted herself and builded her fortresses. The ruins of them may be seen at the present day in attestation of her ancient policy. But with the recession of the Roman legions from the frontier posts, the barbarians broke in like a flood. Gaul was struck by the Frankish nations, just as Italy was struck by the Visigoths and Great Britain by the Anglo-Saxons. It was a common wave, stayed in some parts of the exposed coast, breaking through in others.



DEFENSE OF PARIS AGAINST THE NORMANS.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

Frankish invasion begins with withdrawal of Roman posts.

The people whom the Franks overran in Gaul had already become a new composite race. As to their political and warlike character, they had been weak-

ened by a long period of subjection to an authority south of the Alps. The Frankish maurauders came in and took possession. It was in some sense an exchange of masters, not for the better, certainly, for the Merovingian rule in primitive France was withal the darkest and most disgraceful period in the history of that country. A German power was now established in the place of the Roman, and that final amalgamation, the union of the Frankish race with the Latinized Gauls, took place. Between the beginning of the sixth century and the age of Charlemagne at the beginning of the ninth, the final ethnic change was accomplished by which the French people proper were to arise from the elementary race conditions which had preceded it.

Gauls receive new masters and amalgamate with them.

The Carlovingian monarchs of France were Germans. It was a German dynasty down to the accession of Hugh Capet. But the Western descendants of Charlemagne became more and more Gallic in their character. Under their sway the remaining effects of the old Roman domination passed away, with the exception of so much as was preserved and diffused by the Church. That remained a Latin institution as it had been from the first; and to the extent of its influence in France the language, laws, and customs of Rome still survived and were transmitted to the French people.

In the circumstances here sketched attending the formation of the new race, we may see many reasons for the characteristics which will subsequently appear in the rising people. Among these may be mentioned the versatility and diffusiveness which the French have displayed during their whole career. The multiplicity of elements which entered into the original formation of the people gave variety to the activities of the re-

Composite race origin accounts for French characteristics.

EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE, AT PARIS.

sulting mind. It is not unlikely that the high spirit and enthusiasm of the race may be also accounted for in part by the excited temperament which always results from a composite character. Waters poured together foam and fling their spray; and in like manner the confluence of races, the convergence of different tides of blood, produce an excited, not to say stormy, current, tossing with many passions and swayed by many winds.

Estimate of different race elements in the new people.

Should we attempt to analyze the French character as it appeared in the times when the monarchy became regular under Hugh Capet and his successors, we should find perhaps *one half* of the ethnic potency to be Gallic; that is, derived from the original Celtic stock which Cæsar found in possession of the country at the opening of the Christian era. This race had been many times subjected, but never exterminated or seriously displaced as the major population of the country. In close union with this we should find the Roman potency, which we might estimate at *one fourth* of the whole. The remaining fourth would have to be traced to a Teutonic origin, first in the half-German Belgæ who constituted one major division of the people at the time of the conquest of Gaul, but more particularly to the Frankish conquests after the overthrow of Roman authority. Possibly the fractions would have to be much altered from what is here suggested if the facts were better known; but in any event the French character, as it has presented itself since the epoch of the Crusades, has in it a preponderance of original Gallicism and only an admixture of Roman and Teutonic elements.

The analysis here suggested has respect to the blood of the French race. Institutionally considered the proportions would have to be changed—greatly changed—in favor of the Roman element. Rome by her organizing and governmental capacity greatly impressed the half-barbarous peoples whom she conquered. In course of time they came to regard her dominion as a blessing rather than a curse. They accepted her laws, her institutions, her methods of government, her language, her literature, and her religion. It was in this sense that the Gallo-Frankish peoples west of the Rhine were transformed to such an extent that, notwithstanding their large derivation by blood from Celtic and Germanic sources, they may be most properly set into the Græco-Italic stem, and regarded as one of the Latin races.

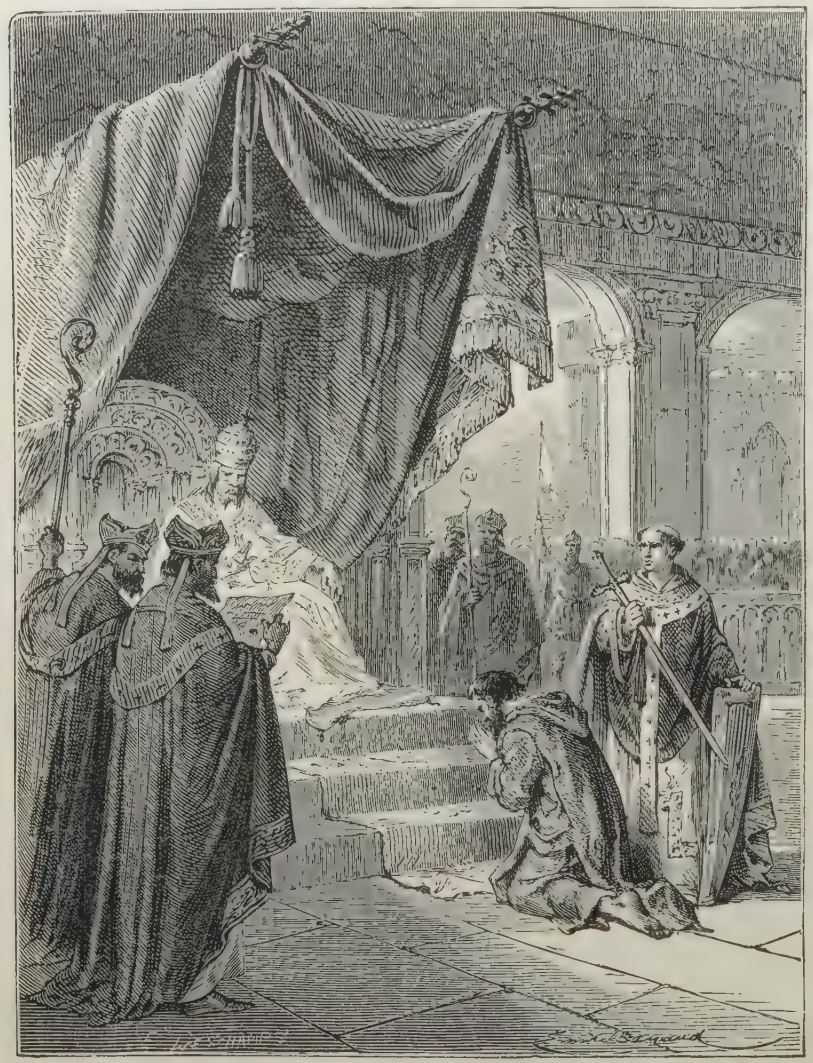
Institutional life of the French derived mostly from Romans.

In the formation of the French people there was after the downfall of the Western empire a long period of social and civil retrogression. When the supporting hand of Rome was withdrawn, chaos, long kept at bay, returned, and the evidences of order disappeared. During the Roman supremacy the cities of Gaul had reached a considerable degree of enlightenment. They became assimilated in their government and their arts to the cities of Italy. Nor might one well discover a difference in the character of the people as he journeyed around the coast from Genoa to Nice, from Nice to Marseilles, or took thence his way to Lyons or Aix. In general, the southern communities were most largely affected by Latin culture, while the towns of the north approximated the barbarian condition. But the greater part of this enlightenment was obscured in the time of the

Decline of the Franco-Gauls after the collapse of Rome.

FRENCH CRUSADERS DEPARTING.—Proclamation of Godfrey as Leader.

Merovingians. Great was the disaster when the Roman laws gave way to the rude customs of the Franks; greater still when the Latin schools disappeared from the country, and when the guttural voice of the Franks was heard instead of the sonorous tongue of Rome. It was a dark and chaotic age. Nor was there evidence of revival until Charles the Great reïnstituted the old learning—or so much of it as his coarse, strong mind was able to apprehend—both in France and Germany.



POWER OF THE CHURCH—LOUIS THE PIOUS DOING PENANCE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

It was at this epoch in history, and particularly in France, that the Church of Rome displayed her powers in a manner advantageous to the interests of mankind. Whatever may have been her motives, she sought diligently to shore up the old learning and institutions of the south. The people of France were in a state of extreme ignorance. Few of the citizens, even of the commercial towns, could read, still fewer could write or compute. Geographical knowledge, which had been at once corrected, enlarged, and diffused by the Romans, was again forgotten. In many instances, the people of one town did not know the direction to another in their own county. Skill in the practical arts had disappeared. In a few places, such as Lyons and Marseilles and Paris, manufactures were carried on, but not with such vigor as had been displayed of old. As to abstract and general learning, it was neither possessed nor desired.

Church of Rome interposes to rescue the ancient learning.

To remedy this deplorable condition the Roman priests strove diligently during the Dark Ages. They were the

only men in any degree capable of teaching or managing schools. Wherever there was a priest or a bishop in those gloomy times there was a man of superior culture—according to the standard of the age. He belonged, moreover, to a society, to an organization, which was still young, vigorous, ambitious, seeing visions and dreaming dreams. He possessed the only inspirative society of France was salutary in the highest degree. It was the agency of the Church that Charlemagne was able to employ in the revival of learning which he promoted, and which in turn preserved the memory of himself and his deeds.

The student of history is well informed as to the dissolution which ensued after the reign of Charles the

THE FRANKS RECOVER NARBONNE.—DEPARTURE OF THE SARACENS.

tion, the only enthusiasm of humanity known in a dolorous and half-barbarous epoch. He showed himself, moreover, capable of great activities and of great courage. He boldly faced the barbarian chieftain, and holding before his breast the ægis of his priestly office, did not hesitate to rebuke, to counsel, to order the rude ruler in his manners and conduct. It cannot be doubted that the presence of such a force in the primi-

Great. Notwithstanding the support of the priests, notwithstanding their enthusiasm which had been kindled into the highest fervor by the seeming restoration of the empire under Charles, the light proved to be only a fitful gleam on the horizon of a still more doubtful and dismal age. The momentary revival gave place to a complete break-up of civil society. It must not be understood

The Gallo-Franks fall under the dominion of feudalism.

that the estate of man was so low under the feudal system which now ensued as it had been in the times of the Frankish kings; but civil and political unity was completely destroyed. We have seen that in Italy the municipal life triumphed somewhat over feudalism, but in France the latter system—if system that may be called which had none—was completely successful. Society in all its parts fell under the dominion of the feudal principle, and general government, together with all general interests, disappeared.

Striking effects of the Crusades on the French race.

In another respect the society of France in the Middle Ages furnished a strong contrast with that of Italy. It was greatly affected by the Crusades. In no other country of Europe was the excitement so great and persistent as in the Gallo-Frankish kingdoms. All the social elements were set on fire with the common passion of the times. France was the center of the volcanic disturbance. Her great feudal counts were they who led in the Holy Wars. It might appear that the whole of French society was drawn in the wake of these invasive campaigns into the East. At first the route was overland, across Germany and by way of Constantinople, but afterwards the preference was by way of Italy and the Mediterranean. To see Rome and Venice became an incidental enticement, and the later Crusaders were not satisfied with their work until they had visited the Eternal City and bowed to the successor of Peter.

Returning Crusaders loose the seals of art and learning.

As the returning bands came home into France, they brought a multitude of new ideas which were at once set free, and filled all the air with their buzzing. Meanwhile, during the two centuries of war the smaller fiefs of the Frankish kingdoms had been absorbed in the larger, and these into the still larger, until monarchy rose over the ruins of the former system of society. An age of unification set in in which each part of the society of France sought union with the other parts. It was the beginning of that enthusiasm for oneness, for a common cause and a common structure, which has prevailed in the country during the last three centuries. The Crusaders also brought from the East the knowledge of many arts with which they were hitherto unacquainted, and these likewise began to be imitated by the unskillful artisans of France. Various kinds of knowledge were diffused in the French cities, and a new life, more refined and varied, began to prevail. One may see how chivalry as an institution may soon take possession of a society which had thus been purified by agitation and elevated by the introduction of a host of new and romantic ideas.

Rising of a new language and a new literature.

Now it was that a new language and a new literature arose in France. For centuries Latin had struggled to hold its own against the strong vernacular tendencies, but in vain. The soul and the tongue of the Gaul and the Teuton would have their way, would obey the universal evolution by which the old is abandoned and the new comes to pass, would follow the leadings of patriotism and passion rather than the leadings of foreign grammar. Latin at length yielded the contest and receded into the monasteries. On the tongues of the people something of its resonance and variety remained, but its grammatical forms were lost, and a wild efflorescence of Gallicisms and Teutonisms came out with the springtime on the growing tree of French.

The processes by which an old language is transformed into a new are among the most interesting studies upon which we may enter. Such changes are closer to the mind than any of those external, material changes which we are able to see with the eye and touch with the hand. The transformation is the transformation of thought. It is a linguistic effervescence and precipitation like that of chemistry. But in this case it is the chemistry of the intellect and the spirit of man. Two great varieties of speech now sprang and flourished as Latin fell into decadence. We may fix their areas geographically by the river Loire. North of the Loire the linguistic development took one form; south of the Loire, another.

Linguistic evolution indicates a transformation of thought.

When a company of travelers or emigrants journeying down a broad highway come to a fork in the road, they may divide at a sharp angle, one taking the right and the other the left-hand branch. For a short distance the company is but little divided; only a tongue of land is between them. Even the children may for a while call across the included angle, shouting their salutations but as the journey proceeds it requires a louder voice. At length only the hunter's horn, as it is sounded with the morning light in one camp, is heard and answered by the discharge of a fowling-piece in the other. Then the two companies have parted. So in the progress of national differentiation. At the first the new tongue, called the *Langue d'Oil*, spoken north of the Loire must have differed but little from the rising speech

In what manner languages part Langue d'Oil et Langue d'Oc

CEREMONY OF FEUDAL SERVICE.—Drawn by Emile Bayard.

called *Langue d'Oc*, spoken in the south. *Oil* was the old French *ya*, or *yes*, while *oc* was the primitive Provençal for the same affirmative particle. By so slight a circumstance linguists begin to discriminate the one speech from the other. The people on one side of the river were the Oil *yessers*, while those on the other side were the Oc *yessers*. Soon the dialects diverged. Each took its own course, its own aspects and development. Thus from the original Latin root, modified by Gallic and Teutonic influences through several centuries, we see the bifurcation of the French tongue into two varieties, one of which was destined to become, first Old French and then New French, and the other to become Provençal—the latter representing a branch of the Latin race which ethnologists regard as distinct from the Frankish division.

Meanwhile, on the western borders of France, the northwestern borders next the sea, the great province of Neustria has suffered an invasion from the north. Rolf, the adventurer, the Goer, or Rover, as he was called, has come in with his Norsemen and has possessed the country. At the time of the conquest the inhabitants of Neustria, ethnically considered, were one with the other peoples of France; but under the domination of their northern masters a transformation was soon effected. The phenomena here presented are almost exactly identical with that which afterwards occurred in England. There the Saxon people, after two or three centuries of subjection, grew up like a long-suppressed vegetation through the Norman film, and gave by its superior strength the final impulse in the formation of the new English race and the new English language.

Rolf the Ganger comes, and Neustria becomes Normandy.

So also the Gallic Neustrians, after one or two centuries of subjugation prevailed in numbers and absorbed their conquerors rather than were absorbed by them. But the Norsemen had given a large foreign bias to the manners, the speech, and the institutions of the country; so that by the middle of the tenth century a new language had appeared, which sounded strange to French ears, and which was destined first to produce a literature of its own and afterwards to infect the speech of England to so great an extent as to constitute a powerful element in that language to the present day. This modified and developed tongue of the Neustrians was the Norman French, being the third form of new speech which sprang up within the limits of France after the retreat of Latin from a hopeless contest with popular forces in the field.

Gallic Neustrians absorb their conquerors; Norman French appears.

Beautiful, even in its germs and first sproutings, was the literature which sprang into being along with these new languages. It was the springtime in all France. Two classes of "makers" appeared. The one sang songs, and the other told stories in verse or prose. Romance was in all the air and in the hearts of men. The singers appeared mostly in the south, in Provence. They were the men of the Langue d'Oc, rhapsodists who took the name of troubadours, and became the ballad-makers of the people. Their songs were of love and sentiment. To a certain extent they created their own subject-matter; but otherwise they gathered it out of the past.

Troubadours and trouveres fill the air with song and story.

Far off to the poets of this early morning appeared the classical ages. The stories and legends of old had been transmitted by many agencies and had become discolored by many transformations. The

From what sources the new poetical literature arose.

Latin monks and schoolmen had recited with an infinity of variations the traditions of kings and emperors, of lords and ladies, of olden time. That great work of fable and miscellany which we now possess under the title of *Gesta Romanorum*, then lay scattered in its elementary condition in the monasteries; but out of these vague references, escaping by the lips of priests and holy men, the bards gathered the outlines of many a sketch and song. Moreover, the Crusading wars were now in full tide. It was from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries that the troubadours flourished in the south of France. The land was full of their warm, fresh songs. The dew of the dawn was on them, the fragrance of early flowers. In course of time this hymnody will be taken up by a more ambitious race of poets. It will be transferred to England, translated and resung by the poets of the Chaucerian epoch, and will give something of its color and odor to all the subsequent poetry of the English-speaking race.

BALLAD SINGER OF LANGUE D'OC.—Drawn by Emile Bayard.

In the central and northern parts of France the genius of the men of the morning took the form of story. It was

the beginning of verse epics and of romantic prose. Here the trouveres wrought into elaborate prose fictions the same legends and traditions which had furnished the subjects of the brief songs of their brethren in the south. War and love and wild adventure were the themes which the primitive novelists of the French race took up and adorned with all their wealth of fancy. Already literature was becoming an art in these strong, rude hands. Men who had been pilgrims with scallop shell and sandal shoon to the Holy Land, or had worn helmets and wielded swords in actual warfare with the infidels of Palestine, returned to tell the story of the things which they had seen in the far East, and to decorate the narrative with imaginative materials which none might contradict. Truth and fancy were wrought into one so that no man might find the line of the welding. A new life of thought, quickened with visions and dreams, appeared in the feudal castles and in the martial cities of chivalrous France; and a new form of literature became the interpreter of the hope and aspirations of the race.

The early story-tellers take up the theme of love and war.

THE TROUVERE ADENEZ AT THE COURT OF MARIE OF BRABANT.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

It was at this early age that the society of France, under the refining influences now present, began to take the lead in Western Europe. The social state was thenceforth more tolerable as well as more enlightened than in Germany, Spain, or England. The fact of this progress and preëminence was recognized in other countries; and from the thirteenth century onward the polite people of foreign cities were wont to visit France and to consider her society as the glass of fashion. The industrial arts were also promoted, and French

The new French society takes the lead of Europe.

manufactures became so elegant that those of Italy and the East were almost forgotten in the commerce of the western and northern states.

It was from this epoch that the peninsulas of Southern Europe, the peoples and institutions thereof, and even their traditional greatness, were measurably neglected in the larger and more promising social and political life of the broad countries north of the Alps and the Apennines. Only the Church of Rome, from her throne in the ancient city of the Tiber, continued to assert her rights of religious government, and even of the direction of secular society, in all lands and among all peoples. This circumstance still kept Italy bound up in her destinies with the states of the north and west. Otherwise history might be said to have abandoned the south, to have passed the mountains,

HENRY OF NAVARRE.—From an old painting.

Civilization leaves the southern peninsulas for the north.

and to have set her face toward the North Atlantic.

It can not be doubted that in some respects the kinship of France with Italy, the mother country, her more immediate derivation from the south, was favorable to her development. Already, in the Middle Ages, France aspired to become the Italy of Northern Europe. She was ambitious at an early epoch to substitute her language for that of Rome in all the polite intercourse of the kingdoms. In this she ultimately succeeded; and for two centuries French was the vehicle of European diplomacy. But in other respects her alliance with Italy, the close relations which she maintained therewith, cost her dearly. It was a fact which stood in the way of the reformation of religion. The predominance of Italian ideas, moreover, since they were such ideas as the papacy approved, encouraged absolutism in the French monarchy, and discouraged the growth of popular liberties. The House of Bourbon was the faithful ally of the Holy See, and the latter was reciprocally true to the Lily of Bourbon. The long prevalence and deep-grounded hold of Bourbonism on the destinies of France were traceable, in part at least, to the prevalence of Italian ideas and influence, the immobility of Romanism, and the protection and support which it afforded to the French throne.

The French become the transalpine Italians.

Glancing back again to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we note the greater growth and expansion of France proper than of Provence. This was seen in the literature of the period. The romances greatly surpassed in extent and variety the simple lyrics of the south. They took for their subjects the high and heroic actions of men, and wrought them into narrative in a way to fasten the attention and kindle the enthusiasm of the reader. Charlemagne and his descendants, their lives and deeds, furnished the subject-matter for many an extravagant and high-wrought fiction. King Arthur, of Brittany, gave another group of legends out of which the story-tellers of the age wrought their romances of adventure. A third group of incidents clustered around the memory of Alexander the Great, who, though lost in the mist of antiquity, seemed almost as near to the unhistorical minds of the epoch as though he had been a contemporary of Charlemagne or Hugh Capet. Nor was it long until he who may be called the father of modern European history appeared, that quaint old Hainaulter, who gave us the *Chronicles* of the age, Froissart. Born in 1337, he lived until 1410. His chronicle closes with the year 1400, thus overlapping the greater part of Froissart's life. It was in his works that the French language took its established form and became henceforth the vehicle, not only of intercourse among the people, but of a vast and growing literature which has continued to swell in volume unto the present day.

Cultivation of historical fiction; Froissart's "Chronicles."

It is necessary, however, to apply to these linguistic and social phenomena the requisite dates before their nature may be well apprehended. It was in the tenth century that the Latin words *ille* and *iste* were converted by corruption into the French demonstratives *le* and *ce*. So slight a circumstance may indicate the time of the primary transformation. From this period the Visigothic and Burgundian population began to use the word *oc*, equivalent to the German *auch*, for *yes;* while the Franks along the Seine said *oil*. After the year 879 the center of the Langue d'Oc dialect and lyri-

Times and places of the literary transformation.

cal literature was at the court of Arles. In the first quarter of the tenth century the focus of the Langue d'Oil, or rising French, was at the court of the Duke of Normandy. The troubadour effusions were poured out in the two succeeding centuries, while the trouvere, or narrative literature, whether in verse or prose, extended from the middle of the tenth century to the close of the eleventh. From the death of Saint Louis the two dialects again approached a common channel. From the council of Clermont in 1095, when the Holy Wars began, to their close in 1291, the dialectical differences existing in France were somewhat obliterated by the tumults and interfusion of the times. The French language proper may be said to date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. But the literary development of France, or the tendency toward a national literature, had been so marked that as early as the time of the Norman conquest of England, in 1066, the young nobles of that country were sent abroad to receive at Bordeaux, at Toulouse, and especially at Paris, the finishing touches of their education.

Meanwhile, however, the ancient Lat-

PRIESTLY LIFE IN THE CRUSADING EPOCH.—St. Sernin, of Toulouse.

in, in the hands of the Roman clergy, and even at the court, held tenaciously—as the race that formerly spoke it was wont to hold—its old-time prerogatives and power. Not that Latin was any longer employed by the people at large or more than incidentally by scholars and statesmen. But the traditions and usages of the past are not easily unseated from the throne. It was not until the reign of Francis I, in the second

Latin yields to French as the language of the court.

quarter of the sixteenth century, that Latin was formally abolished, and French instituted as the language of the court and the vehicle of diplomacy.

Provencal society leads in the race of refinement.

While Central and Northern France civilly, politically, and in a warlike sense, outgrew the south —while the French language proper and the institutions which sprang therefrom flourished more and more—and while, on the other hand, the Provençal was contracted to a point, the society of ancient Languedoc flourished and blossomed more than that in the valley of the Seine. There has, perhaps, never been a region in which the refinements of politeness were more conspicuous as a national characteristic than in the southern parts of France from the age of the Crusades onwards. Beginning with a chivalrous sense of the deference which was due to woman and with a notion of elegance in costume and manners, this southern culture grew apace until the life of the people seemed devoted to the one great fact of society. Music and song were cultivated. Delicate customs of intercourse were established, and rules of etiquette observed to an extent which might well have been characterized as fastidious in any other than a chivalric age.

Paris draws beauty and enthusiasm from the south.

It was from this source that Central France began in course of time to draw the elements of refinement. Especially during the reigns of Louis VII and Philip the Fair was the society of Paris set ablaze by the importation of a new culture from the south. Eleanor of Aquitaine came up with her court to be queen of France, and brought with her the exquisite tastes and fancies with which her southern imagination was inflamed. But these qualities grew well and flourished, springing anew from the soil of Paris. The journey of the French court into the Holy Land, the excitements of that distant campaign, and especially the luxurious winter season which the queen passed at Antioch, still further excited her natural tastes, and led to additional splendor on her return to the French capital.

Thenceforth the court of Paris was the most brilliant in all Europe. Nor has that claim ever been renounced to the present day. Even the setting up of occasional republicanism on the banks of the Seine has not obscured, much less obliterated, the splendid fashions and courtly society of the capital.

Warmth and diffusiveness of the French society.

This social effulgence of the French people, shining out brilliantly in an age when all the rest of European society still sat in darkness, was in a high degree diffusive. Nothing is more contagious than a fashion, particularly if the fashion relates to elegance and beauty. Queen Eleanor had the fame of carrying polite society to another court, that of England, where she became queen of Henry Plantagenet, founder of the Plantagenet dynasty. Doubtless the burly Englishmen of this turbulent period looked with astonishment upon the French blossom which their king had planted in the fogs of London; but the sight was none the less an inspiration. Other capitals were likewise affected with the warmth and radiance of the French court, and the high society of all Western Europe began to be elevated to a plane of superior refinement. It is not meant that the social condition of France in the period under consideration was as pure as its external elegance might indicate. On the contrary, there were many and dreadful vices hidden under the politeness and courtesy of the

age. But even this state was far superior to the coarse brutality, the ribald gluttony and boorishness which had been the prevailing mood in all courtly halls during the Dark Ages.

In the retrospect, changes in human society appear to have been easily effected, as if they came about with the saying; but not so. Nearly all social change is violent. Revolution is rarely peaceable in its methods. In that age of history when the New World lay waiting for a discovery, a great struggle was going on in France between the ancient feudal system of civil government and the new methods of monarchy Feudalism gave place with extreme reluctancy to the improved forms of public administration. The old system was local and peculiar; the new system was general and of universal application. Feudalism considered as a system was at once social, civil, and political. We might almost say it was a religious institution. At least it compelled the Church to take its form and fashion, if not its substance. As the monarchy of France arose and stood, feudalism opposed it. We speak here of the condi-

FRENCH CARPENTER AND MAIDSERVANT—MEDIÆVAL TYPES.

Struggle of feudal society to hold out against monarchy.

tion of affairs in the fifteenth century, when Charles of Burgundy, commonly called Charles the Bold, stood forth as the head and representative of the old system of society, and when Louis XI appeared as the representative of the new. If this had been merely a conflict between an old and a new system of civil administration, it might be passed by with little notice. But the struggle lay much deeper than mere political forms. It involved the very structure and essence of society.

The student of history will readily recall the issue. So far as the government was concerned feudalism went down with Charles the Bold. The great counts and barons became subject to the King of France, and a system of general administration was henceforth prevalent to the borders of the kingdom. It frequently happens, however, in movements of this kind that some elements of society are revolutionized while others remain in their former condition. It is not often, indeed, that all the social forms among a given people are upheaved and remodeled by a single effort. As a political system feudalism passed away about the time of the discovery of America, but as a social system it continued in France for about three hundred years. At bottom it was a system of landownership and rentals for fief service. It encouraged the creation of great estates. It implied that lands belonged originally to the suzerain, and that all subordinate rights were derived from him. The result was that they who tilled the soil were rarely, if ever, its owners. They were tenants, vassals, villains in the language of the times. It was a system which, as we have seen, for a long time held all Europe in its grip. Nor has the feudal system yet been extinguished, even under the democratic and republican movements of the English-speaking race. In France it remained for the great revolution of 1789 to give the deathblow to the ancient form of society, and to accomplish the regeneration which had been long postponed.

Political feudalism perished, but social feudalism remained.

We may, therefore, look upon French society during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as a product of feudal and chivalrous principles, modified by literature and the Roman Church. It can not be denied that it was a society which suffered many hardships and won many victories. It was the great formative age so far as the genius and character of the French people were concerned, and it is befitting to notice some of the social qualities which were engendered in the epochs under consideration.

French society the mixed product of several ethnic forces.

Governmentally, it was the long domination of the Houses of Valois and Bourbon. The temper, spirit, and ambition of these monarchs are well understood. Proud, arbitrary, warlike, unscrupulous, reckless in method, splendid in show, they gave to the monarchy a character of brilliancy, luxury, and wickedness. The French court was the effulgent, formal, and fashionable body in which the remaining energies of magnificent feudalism found vent and expression. Nothing could surpass the showy formalities and mannerisms, the rich costuming, and the inner insincerity of the aristocratic group which the Bourbon kings gathered about their palaces. It served to dazzle the eyes of foreign diplomats and to diffuse through all Europe a reputation for magnificence and courtly grandeur, the like of which has not been seen in any other Western nation.

Character of French court under the Valois and Bourbons.

Ethnic history, however, has not much to do with courts and pageants and royalty. They are many times so far removed from the life of the race of which they appear to be the blossom and fruit as to be utterly misleading. We are obliged to descend from the palace into the city, into the mart, into the country place, before we can discover the real laws and processes of national life. Following the flight of the social arrow, therefore, from the palace to the people, we come, in post-mediæval France, to many and most interesting aspects of human development. It is here that we first in modern Europe strike those lineaments of society with which in some degree we are familiar.

True race history finds its materials among the people.

Be it known that the societies of the ancient world are exceedingly difficult to apprehend as they were. The beliefs, the tenets, the principles by which they were actuated, have either perished or been transmuted into other forms. It is doubtful whether any particularity of scholarship or intensity of reflection will enable the modern reader to apprehend fully the feelings, the emotions, the hopes and fancies, even the manners and tangible expressions, of ancient society. Those old forms of human life passed away amid the convulsions in which the Roman empire perished. They have been seen no more, or, if seen at all, in such different guise as to be no longer recognizable as the same. But in France of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we begin to discover sentiments and manners with which we are familiar. The artificial refinements of intercourse, the indirection and coquetry which have been the peculiarities of all modern courtship, the romantic fervor of the youthful period as compared with the prosaic commonplace of mature life, and many other features of modern society were already apparent when Henry of Navarre carried the white plume of Bourbon to the throne of France.

Difficulty of apprehending the spirit and forms of old societies.

If we look carefully at the French people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we shall discover already the full evidence of that joyousness and sociability for which the race has been remarked upon in modern times. The general mood of the European peoples north of the Alps and of their descendants in the New World has been one of gloom, of melancholy, of silent brooding over griefs, and the rigor of sorrowful memories. Since the Dark Ages there has been something half-sardonic about human laughter. The smile of modern times has always a symptom of the geometric curve. It seems to play about a visage whose habitual mood is dolor. One must needs perceive how great an effort it is on the part of modern nations to be hilarious. All modern poetry grades off into the world of melancholy and doubt. The song of the thrush gives place to the song of the nightingale, and the song of the nightingale sinks into the plaint of the whip-poor-will.

French joyousness contrasted with the gloom of other races.

To all this the social disposition of the French people has opposed itself. It has shown its capacity for cheerfulness, even for mirth. That backward look, sweeping far over the graves of dead ancestors, the ruins of dead cities, and the mockery of dead beliefs, has not been able to cast its shadow over the happy disposition which the French mind has possessed and perpetuated. One might almost believe that France had known no sorrow when he reflects

Exuberant spirits and quick revival of the French people.

upon the exuberant spirits which the people for the last four centuries have displayed. No catastrophe has for a long period darkened the joyous instincts and recuperative genius of this light-minded people.

MEDIÆVAL BATTLE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH—JOHN AT POITIERS.

The heavier and more sedate races round about, particularly those of Teutonic descent, busied with the discouragements of memory and with gloomy philosophical reflections, have been unable to appreciate the jocund disposition of the French, and have made a mock of their airy lightheartedness and joy. They have called it frivolity, recklessness, the absence of serious purpose, and many other reproachful and satirical names. But after all, has it not been of the vastest importance to modern times that at least one great people of Europe has been able to smile and live?

Other peoples do not appreciate the jocund French spirit.

As early as the times of the great wars with England the French nation, socially considered, began to display that peculiar elasticity and recuperative power for which it has since been noted. Disaster to the people of France has not meant the same irretrievable thing that it has signified in other countries and among other nations. Doubtless the French mind feels most keenly the shock of adversity. Doubtless misfortune, calamity, national and social catastrophe, bring a sudden despair; but the recuperation is immediate. The French genius turns at once from the contemplation of ruin to the possibility of recreation.

Striking recuperative powers of the French genius.

Since the formation of the French character in the century following the Crusades, hundreds of instances might

FRENCH MANNERS.—Evening Tea.—From the painting by J. L. Stewart

be cited in which both kingdom and people seem to be plunged into ruinous conditions; but the elastic spirit which has pervaded the race has in every instance sprung up on the morrow with renewal of vigor and forgetfulness of disaster. It has thus happened that the French have sustained themselves through such seasons of calamity as would have overshadowed other peoples for generations. It has been the wonder of historians and philosophers, as they have swept the field in the days immediately succeeding the greatest misfortunes, to find in France so little evidence of the recent tempest. There is something in it like the revival of the natural world. We have seen a tempest in early summer, when all orchards promised abundant fruit, when all cornfields were darkly green with their luxuriant growth, when all harvests were touched with the premonitory flush of the golden reaping day, drop suddenly out of the ominous clouds, and sweeping over the landscape, prostrating everything in its course, leaving chaos behind. But behold the work of a single night and the sunshine of a single day! Nature revives. The orchards recover themselves. The stalks of dark green corn rear their tassels and display their silks. The prostrate wheat fields rise and stand, and make ready for the bridegroom reaper. The storm has not proved to be death, but only disturbance. It has been so in French society. The head is lifted after the cataclysm. The elastic spirit comes with the recession of the storm, and the quick genius of the people smiles and recovers itself while the reverberation of the receding artillery is still heard in the horizon.

Buoyancy of national character and recovery from disaster.

Another characteristic of the French mind is its love of social beauty. In this respect the genius of the people would seem to be in analogy with the spirit of the ancient Greeks. It can not be said that the admiration of things beautiful and the desire to possess them are so powerful, so much in the nature of passions, among the French as they were in Athens and Corinth; but there is an analogy. The spirit of the people of France has a further likeness to the old Greek in its neglect of moral principles in the presence of beauty. We are here speaking simply of the beautiful in social organization, in manners, in intercourse, in habit. It can not be doubted that the French people have failed to insist upon the enforcement of certain moral laws in society, but always with the proviso that society shall be beautiful, that it shall be clean and elegant as to its outer forms and semblance. The proviso has been a *sine qua non*. No other modern people have been so intolerant toward all superficial ugliness in society as have the French. They have insisted with single pertinacity that gracefulness, good manners, and beauty of method shall characterize every movement of social life. It is this principle which has made the French people so easily the standard bearers of polite and fashionable life for all the Western nations. It might well seem amusing, if it were not so instructive a lesson, to witness the surly deference and reluctant imitation of French refinement, politeness, vivacity, and fashion which Great Britain for several centuries has been constrained greatly to the hurt of her national pride, to follow with respect to her neighbors south of the channel.

French love of the beautiful in society and habit.

French refinement in the last three centuries has extended both upward and downward from the medium level of manners and social custom: upward

through all the organizations which the French people have formed for the promotion of knowledge, of art, and instruction. The museums which she has created as the receptacles of her own artistic products, and of the products of other peoples as well, have been characterized from the first by a certain elegance of subject-matter and method which has drawn to her collections the admiration of all enlightened peoples. Her learned societies have been conducted according to the same principles. Her great libraries, particularly the Library of France, have been no less the exemplification of the good taste and elegant management of which the French mind has shown itself so capable than the depositories of the best knowledge of the age. But the refinement has extended downward also into the industrial arts and to the very labor of the shops and fields. In her food supply—in both its production and its treatment—France has led all the nations of the West. Long before the other leading peoples of New Europe had abandoned the coarse, heavy foods of barbarism, the French had adopted the light and elegant viands on the production of which they have so greatly refined in recent times.

French refinement extends upward to art, downward to industries.

The carnivorous appetite was thus abated and a more delicate manner of sustaining life introduced among the French, while the peoples beyond the Rhine on the Baltic shores, and particularly in the British islands, were still feasting in the gluttonous manner of barbarians. It was this national disposition which has led the French peoples to reject and displace the heavy alcoholic and fermented liquors, and to sub-

PARIS OF TO-DAY—THE CAFÉ.

Coarseness of other races replaced with French delicacy.

stitute therefor those light and elegant wines the drinking of which has been habitual and universal for two centuries. In those means of subsistence which were gathered from the gardens, the orchards, and the fields, the same discriminating taste has led to the choice and cultivation in France of all the more fine-flavored vegetables and fruits and to the rejection of the coarse, fiery, and offensive products which some other peoples of less refinement persist in eating even to the present day.

In the preparation of their food and in the manner of eating, from the common meal of the frugal peasant to the banquet of princes of the blood, the same delicacy and good manners prevailed at an early day in France; and these have marked the taking of food and drink among the French people to the present day. Even in conviviality, in the public banquet, in the hilarity and exuberance of wine-drinking and satirical repartee, a certain refinement of manner has half-redeemed the vice and moral relaxation which such customs in society necessarily engender. It has, on the whole, been of no little importance to the great civilized peoples of to-day, all of whom have a barbarian ancestry not very far behind them, that a standard of elegant manners and courtesies should be set up in the heart of Western Europe and promoted by the enthusiastic example of the most sociable people of modern times.

The French table becomes æsthetic and banqueting a fine art.

The early and exquisite development of society in France appears in some sense to have absorbed the principal energies and genius of the race. They who could invent the best manners and customs, the greatest refinements of intercourse, have shown themselves unable to devise any wise system of political life. In this respect the early connection with Italy cost France dearly. Down to the present century there has been a slumbering project in the minds of imperialists, carefully cherished by the Roman Church, to recreate on French soil an empire in which Latin principles of government should prevail over the experiences of modern times. While this effort has not been successful, it has postponed to a late age the growth of rational liberty among the French. While personal liberty has reached a very high degree of development, while the personal emancipation of man has gone forward to an extent in France that could hardly be paralleled in any other country, civil liberty, political emancipation, has either lagged or has gone forward with sudden bounds and revolutionary plunges which, on the whole, have been little productive of permanent freedom.

Social refinement has been substituted for political development.

It is one of the most interesting historical studies which the modern world presents to trace out the correlations of social and political growth in the two great countries of France and England. While the society of France has made the most rapid progress, while the mind of man in that country has attained an individual freedom, a largeness of personal and rational activities for which we should look in vain in the British islands, it has remained for England, by adopting the law of experience instead of the law of the past, to surpass France in the establishment of rational civil liberty. On the governmental side the wisdom of the English-speaking race, its prudence, its caution, its common sense, may be contrasted with the unwisdom, the fitful exertions, the reactions, and political follies of France, to the

Contrast of French and English races as to civil growth.

just disparagement of the latter country. Here, however, the true student of history, if he look down deep into the antecedents of the two peoples, will be able to discover how it is that elegance of social forms, politeness of intercourse, geniality, sociability, diffusiveness, enthusiasm, have prevailed among the French people and have become habitual and unconscious in the usages of the

PARIS OF TO-DAY—TYPES AND MANNERS.—Gossips on the Seine Quays.

race, and how on the other side of the channel a certain heaviness, dullness, apathy, immobility, and coarseness have held back the society of England from the refinement to which, according to other criteria, it ought to have attained. But on the civil and political side the picture is wellnigh reversed. In this feature the Gallic race is disparaged by historical comparisons. In this respect the methods and policies of the French people seem so irrational and even childish as to be inexplicable to the minds of those whose political judgment has been perfected by close observation and experience in the channels of English and American life.

As a rule the genius of a people flows forth in some particular direction. The development is conspicuous along some peculiar line of activity and only incidental along other lines. We have seen how the Greeks gave themselves to the beautiful in literature and art, how the Romans devoted their energies to the construction of a great state and to an elaborate system of jurisprudence. The English-speaking world is political in its activities. In all countries where the English language is spoken political prejudice amounts to a passion, and political affairs absorb the interest and energy of the people. It is one of the rea-

English-speaking peoples sacrifice art for politics.

sons for the slow development of art and the discouragement of genius among the English-speaking peoples.

The French race has given its chief energies to society. At intervals it rouses itself to a very high degree of political activity, but it is difficult to maintain an interest in civil affairs from period to period. The sympathies and tendencies of the people are all really effect a given result. A social preparation is necessary to every common action and applause is demanded at the close. So strong is this instinct that it has appeared to draw away the energies of the race from public affairs on the one side and from merely domestic affairs on the other. The political organization is almost dissolved in the warmth of society, and the family is almost dissolved in the same heat.

Energies of the French devoted to social accomplishments.

OUTDOOR LIFE OF THE FRENCH.—PROMENADE AT NICE.

in the direction of society properly so called. All their instincts are gratified with the contemplation of social perfections. They have refined upon all of the processes and forms of intercourse, and have cultivated the disposition of the race in all matters relating to association. There has never been a mind less solitary, less capable of single exertion, less able to maintain its energies in an isolated state than is that of the French. Every kind of activity depends upon a rushing together of many, and a common exertion is required to

Considering the disposition of the French people to rush into association, to crowd into public places, to throng all gardens and all cafés, under the desire of intercourse, we might suppose the people to have a tropical environment. We should expect that such instincts could only be displayed under the fascination of a snowless, stormless climate. France, as compared with many other parts of Western Europe, has a genial air and a balmy sunshine; but there is no such excess of these elementary con

Desire for social intercourse predominates over other passions

ditions as to excite the social passion which we see in full activity among the French. In so far as climatic conditions favor the outdoor life the race has felt the stimulus; but in despite of all climatic opposition the instinct works out the same results. Winter and summer, north and south, under all circumstances and all conditions the people respond with alacrity to every social incitement, and find their chief pleasure and consolation in mingling joyfully with their fellow-beings.

FRENCH SOCIETY.—THE BOIS DE BOULOGNE.

There is, moreover, something peculiarly praiseworthy in the dispositions of the French with respect to the individual life in its relations with society. Among the Teutonic races the complete development of social forms has always meant the subordination of the individual. In the German- and English-speaking channels of life the more perfect the social structure the more complete the absorption of the single life. No other circumstance in modern civilization is a greater menace to the welfare of mankind than the irrational and forceful suppression of individuality in the higher forms of German, English, and American society. From it there is no escape except a flight for refuge to the wild frontiers and fastnesses of the mountains. One of the striking features of American society during the larger part of the nineteenth century has been the constant emigration of its best and strongest elements from the older and stricter communities to the freedom of the frontier line. Not that society has been good on the edge of the wilderness and the prairie; not that advantages

English and American races destroy individuality.

have abounded in the wild Western valleys; but there has been an emancipation by flight, a reässertion of freedom, and a consequent growth of all the hardier virtues and stronger faculties which were quenched under the precisianism of the old societies. For a century past the strongest, most active, most resolute residue of the Anglo-American people, now the most numerous branch of the race, has been found fluctuating further and further from the reach and domination of those hard and inelastic social structures which Old England and Old America have insisted on building as homes for the habitation of men.

FRENCH MILITARY OFFICER—TYPE
Drawn by Riou, from a photograph.

In France this disposition has not existed. She has agreed that her people may be sociable in the last degree and yet retain their individual volition and spontaneity. This is the happiest circumstance of French life as it has displayed itself, particularly since the revolution of 1789. The man of Germanic, English, or American descent is astonished at the molecular freedom of French society. Every particle oscillates among its fellow particles as if the mass were water or quicksilver. There is no rigidity and therefore no suppression. It is a circumstance which has told upon the intellectual development of the French. It has reflected itself into every department of mental and even industrial activity. It has given a cheerful and spontaneous character to every aspect of French enterprise. It has permitted the individual torch to shine in the general glow of social illumination, and has thus reserved for the individual man the consciousness of contributing to the warmth and light, the effulgence of his age and country.

The French concede individuality and social freedom.

Closely connected with the swarming sociability of the French people is another quality of mind which has given tone and character to all the literature of France. This is the disposition to generalize on the results of knowledge, and to construct from miscellaneous data gathered from many sources the laws and principles by which they are governed. Society may be called the generalization of man, and literature is in some sense the generalization of knowledge. It could not be truly said that, as a rule, the French mind has been patient in the investigation of details; but it has been exceedingly patient in investigating general laws. It may be well in this connection to explain briefly those two great processes of analysis and synthesis by which knowledge has been increased and diffused among mankind.

Strong disposition of the French mind to generalize.

If the inquirer strikes with his stick a fragment of a nutshell, how shall he proceed to learn as much as possible of the fact which is discovered? In the first place, he may proceed *analytically*. He may weigh the bit of nutshell in a balance. He may note its color and its form; its physical qualities as to hardness, brittleness, tenacity, etc. He may test its specific gravity by noting the quantity of water which it will displace. Then he may begin a chemical examination. He burns the nutshell or dissolves it in acid. He finds so much oxygen, so much carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, potash, soda, salts of the earth, etc. Thus downward and downward he proceeds from the fragmentary fact with which he began until he has divided that fact into its ultimate elements and considered each as to its quantity, its quality, and its essential nature.

Two processes of increasing knowledge; first, by analysis.

Or, on the other hand, he may start upwards from the fragmentary nutshell and proceed *synthetically*. He may draw, in the first place, a conjectural sketch of the whole nutshell of which this is a part. He may then proceed to consider the fruit of which the nut is but the seed. From the fruit he will rise to an inquiry concerning the tree which bore the fruit; what kind of a tree it was; where it grew; the circumstances of its growth, and the conditions necessary that such a tree may grow and bear. From this he rises still higher, to consider the group of trees of which the particular tree is a member; the other species of the group; the genus of tree to which all these species belong, and the place of the genus in the vegetable kingdom whereof it is only a part. He may then glance at the whole vegetable kingdom, noting the locus of the particular genus which he has had under consideration, and from the vegetable he may still glance upward to the other general kingdoms of nature; the animal, the mineral, etc. He now has before him a general view of all nature so far as the world is concerned. He apprehends the order of physical existence on our planet. But from this he may rise to the consideration of other worlds, to the solar system, to the universe, and to the infinite laws and processes by which that universe is governed.

Illustration of the synthetic method of investigating facts.

This is to generalize. The inquirer has in this process employed synthesis as he employed analysis before. He has risen instead of descended. He has

YOUNG WOMAN OF ZICAVO—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Vuillier.

reached up by successive steps from the small fact to the greater fact of which it was a part, whereas in the other case he proceeded from the given fact to the smaller facts which were the parts thereof, and so downward and downward to elementary conditions.

Great difference among races respecting the analytic and synthetic methods.

Now there is a widespread ethnic difference among men with respect to these two processes. Some races prefer analysis. It is their natural intellectual mode of action. Others are naturally synthetic in their dispositions. The former are patient in the investigation of details; the latter, in the discovery of general laws. The former produce the elements of knowledge, and the latter combine those elements of knowledge into general systems of thought.

Easy preëminence of the French in the use of synthesis.

The French have been peculiar, even preëminent, among the peoples of modern times in their ability to generalize. They have a natural tendency to rise from the consideration of particulars to the contemplation of generals. They take the results of inquiries which they themselves would never have had the patience to prosecute, and are skillful in placing together those results and in discovering the laws by which they are to be explained. In a few instances French scholars of the last two centuries have shown themselves capable of investigating the difficult details which have been presented in new fields of inquiry; but they have been the exceptions. As a rule, French thinkers have pursued exactly the opposite course. They have gathered up the *disjecta membra* of human knowledge and put them together in coherent systems, making those systems valuable in the intellectual development of other peoples, and indeed of the whole human family.

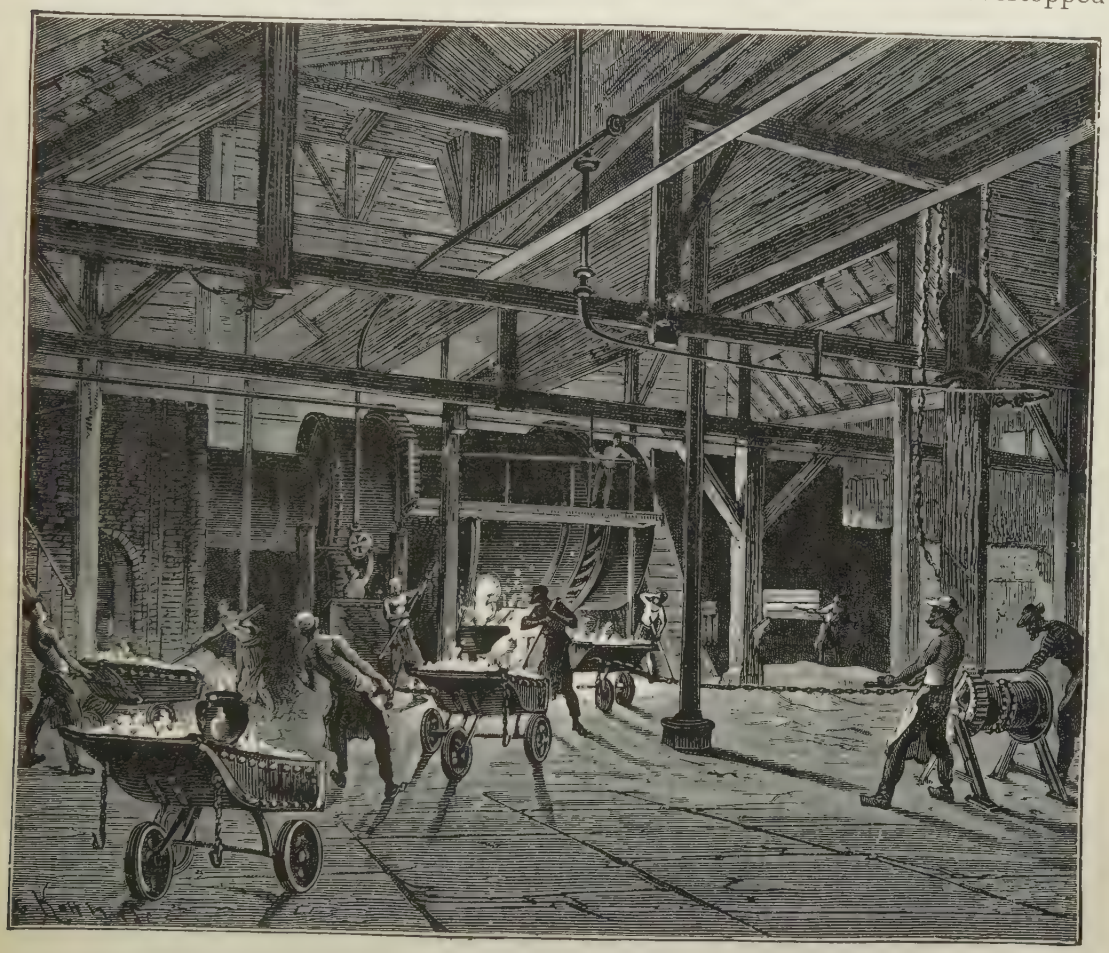
The power to generalize is a true originality.

It may be said that synthesis is not originality. This, however, will depend upon the definition. If it be meant that originality consists only in discovering new data, in bringing new facts to light, then it might be said that the French people are not strikingly originative. If it be claimed that it is not an originative process to find the immaterial principles which underlie such facts, then it might be truly alleged that the French are an *un*originative people. But if originality should be defined as the process of discovering the general laws by which facts are elucidated and held together in organic union, then the first claim to the originative faculty might be allowed to the French. They have shown themselves more capable than any other modern or ancient people in discovering and binding together the segregated parts of human knowledge; and it is for this reason that the contributions of other nations to the wisdom of the world are frequently sent through France before they are delivered to the world—a fact which Guizot was the first to point out and emphasize.

French furnish models of excellence in literature and art.

As a result of this peculiar relation which the people of France have sustained to the intelligence and learning of other races, they have furnished the models of excellence for most of the mental and artistic products of the last three centuries. Other peoples have not freely acknowledged their indebtedness in this respect to France. They have appropriated her styles of composition, her work in all branches of literature, and the results of her excursive genius, and have hidden under the guise of translation and by many other devices both the fact and the obligation of the taking. We here speak of the models

and types of things rather than of the things themselves. In the industries of the Western nations the French have frequently furnished the model, while some other nation has furnished the execution. The same is true in literature. But in this case there has been a large appropriation of French material as well as French styles of thought.



INDUSTRIES OF THE FRENCH.—Swing-Oven Works, in Rouen.—Drawn by Barclay.

Several other features remain to be noted as conspicuous among the French people. They are exceedingly dramatic.

Passion of the race for things dramatic and spectacular.

The quality has been present in the race ever since the Crusading wars. Objectively it manifests itself in a love for things spectacular. Here again we note the affinity with the ancient Greek. French society is capable of great excitement and susceptible of great pleasure from pageant, drama, show. The passion is revealed with respect to the drama proper. For nearly two centuries dramatical literature has overtopped every other species of composition. Excellence in this art has given rank to French authors above that attained by any other literary achievement. No other production of the French mind is so sure to bring the laurel, to win the enthusiastic applause of the whole land, as is a successful comedy or a great tragedy. In some instances, as in the case of Victor Hugo, who wrought in

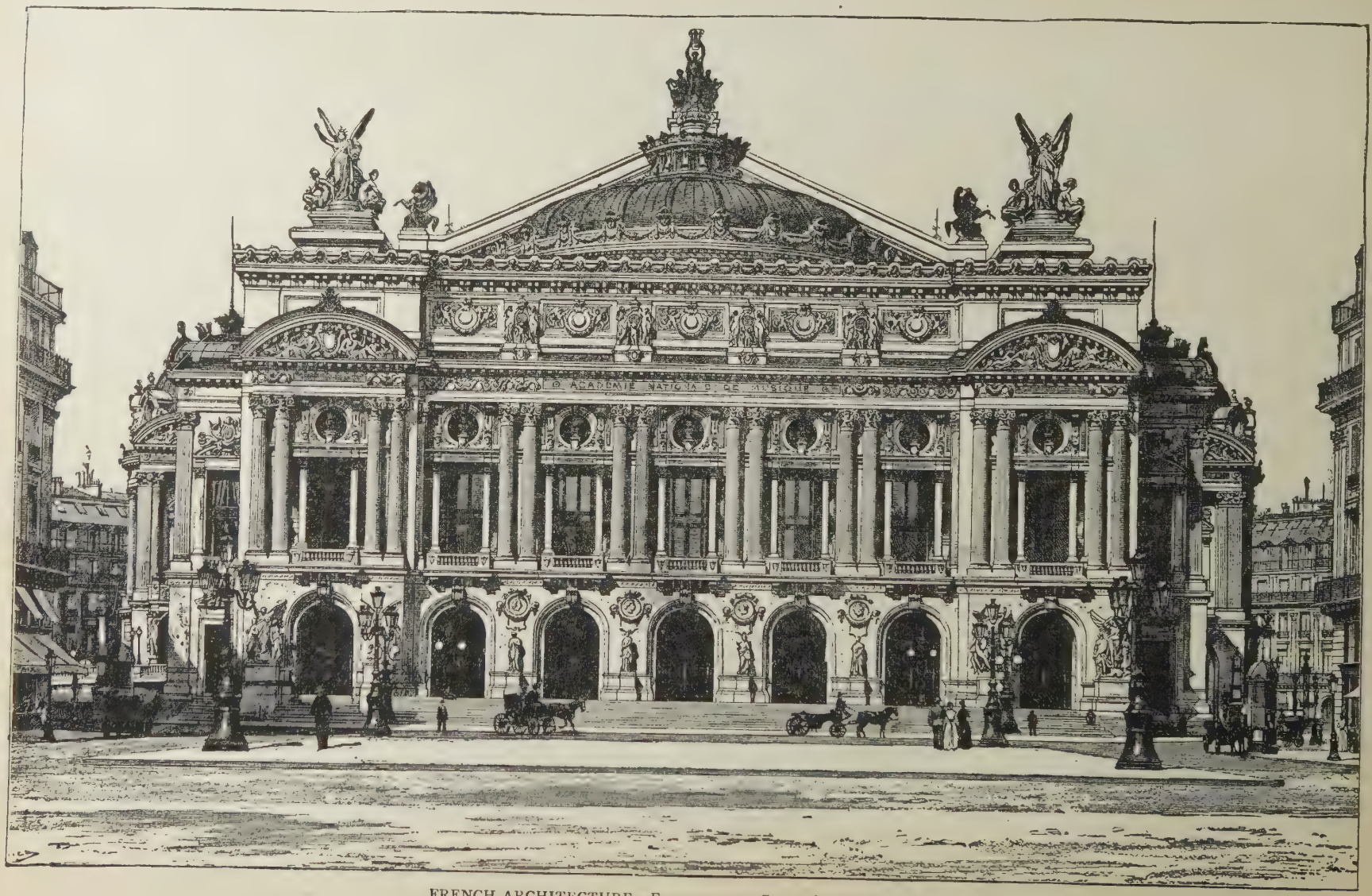
many departments of literature, the reputation, the fame of the work, has been proportional to its dramatic quality. While foreign peoples have admired the essayist, the novelist, the historian, the French have admired the poet, and more particularly the dramatist.

LITERARY TYPE—VICTOR HUGO.

It has been claimed that the intellect of France is the most self-conscious of any that has appeared in modern times. Doubtless a good deal of this quality was derived from the Roman stock. It was the characteristic of that race in all stages of its history down to the barbarian period. Most of the Latin races of modern times have not had the self-concentration of their great original, but the French have preserved it well. They admire themselves and their works. They believe that France is Europe, and that Europe is the world. It is a deep-seated conviction that the products of French genius are superior, each in its kind, to the corresponding products of other nations. The people are, therefore, little disposed to borrow or to imitate either the works or the ideas of others. It is not precisely just, in view of the great achievements of the Gallic race and of its conspicuous position in the history of modern times, to charge up the self-confidence and self-dependence everywhere exhibited to innate vanity. Doubtless national pride must be accredited with a part of the self-centering disposition of the people; but there is a large residue of the feeling which has better reason for its existence—the reason of merit and superiority.

Self-consciousness and self-sufficiency of the race.

One of the results of the disposition which we here note is that French architecture and art are less varied, less composite, than the corresponding works



FRENCH ARCHITECTURE.—Facade of the Grand Opera House, Paris.

in other modern nations. The architectural principles employed by the builders of France are nearly all classical in their origin, but have been modified by the principles of the Renaissance. Within the present century there has been but little variation from the fixed standard, and there is no other great city in the world which presents so homogeneous a character as Paris. It has been said that even the streets are characterized by "magnificent regularity." The building line on either side is perfectly straight, and though the buildings have their individual features they are all marked by uniformity of style, totally unlike the picturesqueness and variety of London or New York. A like sameness holds in the matter of color. The elegant monotony which distinguishes all the building of the French capital is heightened by the universal gray color of the whole.

Classicism and uniformity of the French architecture.

Viewed in comparison with the other divisions of the Roman family the French race is greatly preëminent. Historically considered, its rank among the peoples of modern times is not to be mentioned in connection with that of the Italians, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese. In some respects the latter have surpassed the French, as in the matter of adventure. The same concentration which we have mentioned above, the intense patriotism of the race, and its satisfaction with its own achievements in its own country, have sufficed to make the French less adventurous on distant seas and shores than several of the other peoples of contemporaneous age. They have been feeble in respect to colonization, and have shown no aptitude for the extension of their nationality over subject peoples. The weakness of political development, which we have already noticed and lamented, has also hindered the pushing out of French genius into foreign lands. As navigators and discoverers the Italians, the Portuguese, even the Spaniards, have surpassed the French. But in genius, in industrial arts, in national power, in enthusiasm, in achievement, and in self-assertion among the greatest nations of the world the French have wellnigh overshadowed their kinsmen of the other Latin races.

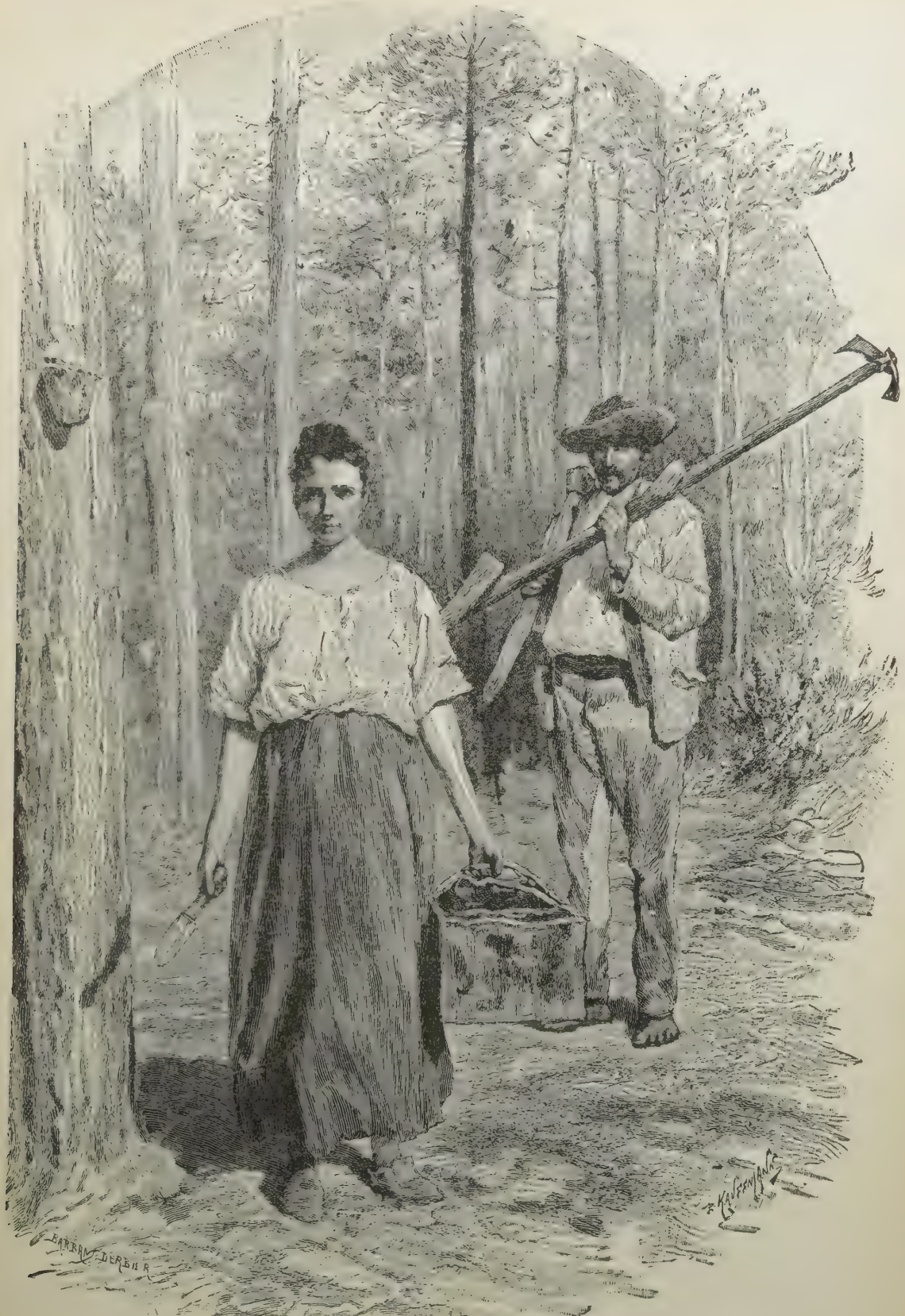
The French lead the Latin races in thought and action.

An ethnic sketch in which a given people are considered only as a branch of a race, derived from a certain stock and exhibiting certain peculiarities of development, must necessarily be brief What shall be omitted from such a picture of human evolution is a more troublesome question than what shall be inserted. An adequate picture of the Gallic race would include many features of great interest, but only a few additional elements of the national character can here be presented. With the discovery of Gaul by the Romans, the forms of paganism peculiar to the Celts were prevalent in all parts of the country. The Belgæ sympathized in their superstitions with the nations beyond the Rhine. Roman paganism was exceedingly tolerant, and the establishment of Roman authority in Gaul did not much affect the religion of the various peoples. What those religions were we shall see when we come to speak of the Celtic division of the Aryan family.

Paganism of the Gallo-Franks; character of the Belgæ.

As Rome became Christianized she carried out into her provinces the doctrines and practices of the new faith. Before the establishment of the Carlovingian dynasty Gaul was already nominally Christian. Charlemagne and his successors were not indifferent to the

The Catholic Church takes deep root in the soil of France.



PEASANT TYPES OF RURAL FRANCE.—Resin Gatherers of Avignon.—Drawn by V. Kaveemann.

religion which they had accepted. They sought, after the manner of kings not yet recovered from barbarism, to promulgate the principles of Christianity and to establish it among all their subjects. The greater part of Charlemagne's wars were prosecuted with this end in view. The Roman Church was deeply planted in the soil of primitive France. It grew and flourished under the Valois and Bourbon monarchs. In the tumults of Italy and the frequent schisms that rent the Church the popes on several occasions found refuge in France. Avignon was for sixty-eight years the seat of the papacy. France became profoundly Catholic, and the inroads of the reformation, if not positively stayed with her borders, were so greatly checked that the ancient Church remained in ultimate possession. She sat immovable in her dominion until the philosophical revolution of the eighteenth century brought the French intellect into hopeless antagonism with her tenets and practices.

REVOLUTIONARY TYPES.—CAMILLE DESMOULINS AT HOME.—After the painting by Flameng, Salon, 1882.

In the great revolution of 1789 Rome made common cause with the old monarchy. She stood with it and fell with it and was restored with it. It has thus happened that the French people of today are at the two extremes of Catholic legitimacy on the one hand and absolute radicalism on the other. The philosoph

Catholic legitimacy and radicalism join issues in France.

ENTHUSIASM OF THE FRENCH.—Insurrection at Paris.—From *Magazine of Art*

ical mind has escaped from the mother Church, and has renounced not only her, but the very principles on which she is founded. The meeker and less insurrectionary peasant mind remains under the ancient dominion. But between these two extremes there is little of that graduated belief which is the peculiarity of the English-speaking race. The intensity of the French mind, the heat of the French genius, will not be satisfied except in the bosom of Rome or in the bosom of unbelief. It has happened from these conditions that Protestantism has to the present day obtained but a precarious footing in any part of France.

We can not conclude this ethnic outline of the French race without a second reference to its patriotism. After the social instinct of the people, the patriotic instinct is the strongest of their passions. It may be that in some other countries of Western Europe or in America a rational and deep-seated love of country prevails to as great an extent, or even greater, than in France, but in no other is the enthusiastic devotion to native land so powerful and lasting. We have spoken above of the indisposition of the French to adventure on foreign shores, to plant colonies, and to subject barba-

Strength of the patriotic passion in the French people.

INTERIOR OF FRENCH PEASANT'S HOME.—The Dinner Hour.

rian races to their control. This is largely due to the fact of the passionate attachment of the people for their own country, love for its institutions, and devotion to its cause.

Love of the soil prevails over the allurements of adventure.

If we make a circuit of Europe and America at the present time we shall find a vast and nebulous distribution of alien populations. The German race has continued as of old to swarm into distant regions. While it can not be said that the Germans are devoid of love for fatherland and mother tongue—while it may even be said that they are ardently devoted to Germany and Germanic usages—they nevertheless emigrate freely, and readily form new attachments under conditions totally different from those to which they have been accustomed. The other populations along the coast of Europe, particularly the English and Irish, have also the emigrant instinct. In short, all the Western peoples with the exception of France have distributed themselves freely into foreign countries, and are furnishing their respective parts in the great composite race of the future. But the French do not share this disposition. The passion for *La Patrie*, their country, prevails over all allurements of land and sea. They are attached to the soil by a tie stronger than that which binds man to the earth in any other civilized region of the globe. Indeed, the native instinct of the Gaul, which has led him to prefer the society of his own people and to admire and love the institutions and customs which they have created, has been intensified in the highest degree by the free landownership which has prevailed in France since the great Revolution.

The French race flourishes with free landownership.

Under the feudal land title and the oppressive monopolies that prevailed before the cataclysm of 1789, French patriotism was under an incubus, and nothing but the native impulses of the race held the people fast in their allegiance to a system which was so destructive of their happiness. But with the great break-up the feudal land tenure was swept away, and a system of free ownership was instituted by which even the French peasant might possess himself of a few acres of land. He has done so. He has built thereon his home. He has created there a nidus from which he flies forth into general society, but to which he returns with his peculiar affection. It is not so much the domestic life which draws him back as it is his cottage, his garden, his vineyard, and his violin.

Of all modern countries, not excepting the United States, France has best solved the problem of the distribution of her population upon the land. While she has her great cities, while it is said in our own era that Paris is France, she nevertheless has a landowning peasantry distributed thickly and evenly into all parts of her domain. This common people is planted on the soil and held thereto by ties that will not give away. There are more than four million of these landed estates within the limits of France, and it is there as much as in her splendid capital that the local attachment of the Gaul for the place in which he lives is promoted—there, where his patriotic instincts are gratified; there, where his innate love of country is fanned into a flame that not even the deluge of war and infinite disaster can subdue or extinguish.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE SPANIARDS.

PERHAPS the saddest example of ethnic decline witnessed among the modern peoples is that of the Spaniards. It seems incredible that the relative position of the various peoples of the West, such as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, could have been so completely altered and reversed during the comparatively brief period that has since intervened. At that time power, enterprise, genius, adventure, capacity for affairs, aggressiveness, self-confidence, warlike passion, and almost every other ingredient of what is called national grandeur belonged to the Spanish people. But power has been replaced with weakness, enterprise with apathy, genius with mediocrity, adventure with inaction and lethargy, capacity for affairs with political imbecility, aggressiveness with timidity, self-confidence with abasement, and warlike passion with peaceful somnolency and effemination. Only this has remained of the instincts of the race such as they were three hundred years ago—an inveterate pride and sentiment of haughty superiority. That will, perhaps, disappear only when the last of the race shall fall into silence.

Melancholy decline of the Spaniards in last four centuries.

ENTRANCE TO HARBOR OF BARCELONA.—Drawn by E. T. Compton.

Ethnography has had no more difficult problem than to ascertain with even approximate certainty the race derivation of the original Spanish tribes. The largest and most conspicuous of these were the Iberians, whose name and fame were common in the annals of antiquity. We shall not here again enter upon the discussion of the ethnic descent of the Iberi. On the whole, they appear to have belonged to the Brown races or the Hamitic family, and to have had,

Obscure problem of derivation of Iberians and Basques.

LANDSCAPE IN SPAIN.—Malaga. Looking West.—Drawn by E. T. Compton.

geographically, an African derivation. There is little doubt that they and the Basques, who lay north of them, occupying both slopes of the Pyrenees, were kinsmen, and we have in another part of this work assigned to both a place in the distribution of the Brown races.

But the Iberians and Basques were not the only primitive peoples of the Spanish peninsula. There was in this broadly expanded projecting part of Europe a still larger dispersion of the Celtic race. We have in another place referred to the migratory movement which carried the Celts to the south of the Pyrenees, and ultimately bore that race, by a reflex migration, to the northeast, and thence across the larger part of Europe. It can not be known with certainty to what extent Celtic tribes were planted in Hispania with the progress of this movement, but they were certainly a part—a large part—of those peoples with whom the Romans first came into contact when the republic put forth its strong arms into foreign regions. We may say, therefore, that the *populus originalis* of Spain was a composite of Celts, Basques, and Iberians, the former people predominating, especially in the north. It may not be far from correct to say that the Iberian population held to the subsequent development of the Spanish race under the dominion of Rome a relation very similar to that of the Etruscans with respect to the dominant people of Italy.

The Celtic element predominant in Spanish ethnography.

It was Spain thus peopled that in the times of the Carthaginian wars passed by conquest under the dominion of Rome. The usual policy of colonization and provincial development ensued. Spain—as did Gaul afterwards—became Romanized, but the transformation required several centuries for its accomplishment. At the first the coast region of the east, from Barcelona to the Straits, was planted with colonies. Intercourse between this region and Italy became regular and continuous. It was not, however, until the times of Hadrian and the Antonines that the Roman race was sufficiently predominant by its extension into the interior to constitute a really large percentage of the people.

Rome conquers and colonizes the Spanish peninsula.

During the long period when Hispania, under the republic and the empire, was a province of Rome, the people were amalgamated in the manner which we have already described as happening in Italy and France during the Middle Ages; that is, Spain was Latinized. The Latin language was accepted, except in interior and mountainous districts, and Roman institutions took the place of those which had prevailed under barbarism. In fact, no one of the countries that became a part of the Roman empire received more completely the spirit and genius of the dominant race than did those provinces of Spain which were adjacent to the Mediterranean. The traveler along the Spanish coast during the second or third century of our era might have thought himself in Italy.

The peoples south of the Pyrenees are Latinized.

The overthrow of Roman authority in the southwest was almost coïncident with the downfall of the empire proper. Both catastrophes resulted from the Gothic invasions. The Goths were divided into two great families called the West Goths, or Visigoths, and the Ostro- or East Goths. It was the former family that passed across the north of Italy and made its way into Spain; while the Ostrogoths, turning to the left, overthrew and trampled under foot

Gothic conquest; antecedent career of the Visigoths.

whatever remained of the imperial government.

It is not the place to look into the antecedents of these Gothic invaders of Italy and Spain. It is sufficient to say that the Visigoths were much the more enlightened division of the race. They had dwelt on the Danube, first on the left and afterwards on the right bank of that river. They had held the province of Dacia, which had become in a large measure assimilated with the Roman empire. They had received the Christian religion, and had shown some signs of literary development before their removal to the far southwest. As soon as the Roman power was no longer able to defend them, their neighbors on the east jostled them from their seats, and the migratory movement began which

VIEW IN TOLEDO.—Bridge of St. Martin.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

ended in the invasion and conquest of Spain. There was thus superimposed upon the original populations of that peninsula a Teutonic race which became dominant, and gave a new direction to the ethnic lines of Spanish development.

Percentage of Gothic population to precedent peoples.

The situation was much like that which resulted from the Frankish invasion and conquest of Gaul. The Visigoths were to the Spanish races what the Franks were to the Gaulish peoples west of the Rhine. We are again lost in conjecture with respect to the proportion of the Visigothic admixture which came with the overthrow of the Latinized Iberians. We may judge, however, from the parallel condition of affairs in Italy that the Gothic contribution to the population of the peninsula was not more than one fourth or one third of the whole. We may suppose that the state of affairs in the century which followed was similar to that which was presented in Neustria after the subjugation of that country by the Normans. In Spain, as in Normandy, the old Latin speech and institutions survived the invasion of the Goths, and the latter were constrained to accept the tongue and in a large measure the usages of the people over whom they had established their authority.

The Visigothic kingdom; superiority of the race.

From this time forward the nationality of the Visigoths was an accomplished fact. They established an independent kingdom, having its capitals at Toulouse and Toledo, the former being the seat of authority for the whole Visigothic kingdom and the latter the center of administration for Spain proper. The political power thus instituted continued without serious interruption from 418 to 711 A. D. On the whole, it was the most enlightened barbarian state established within the limits of the Roman empire. This superiority must be attributed largely to ethnic considerations. The Visigoths before their migration to the southwest were the leaders in refinement among all the peoples beyond the Danube and the Rhine. They brought with them into Spain the character which they had justly earned for a civilized and civilizing disposition. Their treatment of the conquered race was in keeping with the reputation of the conquerors. The first great invasion by the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals was characterized with much barbarian fury and devastation, but the Visigothic conquest proper, headed by Adolphus, who was an ally of Rome, was characterized by as much humanity and moderation as might be expected in such an age and under such conditions.

Excellence of the Visigothic administration and laws.

Several of the Visigothic sovereigns were men of high character, great native force, and no inconsiderable learning. The monarchy was elective. The larger number of the administrative offices were held by the Visigothic aristocracy. A code of laws, which has been justly praised for its liberality and uniform bearing on all classes of people, was adopted. The bishops and clergy of the Roman Church had great influence in Toledo, particularly in the councils which were held there, under the auspices of which the constitution of the kingdom and the statutes at large were prepared or amended. Though at the time, owing to the superior learning and intelligence of the prelates thus engaged in civil affairs, an element of justice and rationality was present in the Visigothic laws and administration, the same influence cost the Spaniards dearly in after

ages by giving an ecclesiastical bias to secular affairs, by mixing the one with the other, and thus paving the way for the horrors which were afterwards prepared in the peninsula under the auspices of the Church and executed by civil authority.

After an ascendency of some three hundred years the Visigothic power was overturned by the sudden inroads of the Moorish followers of Mohammed. The story of the invasion and its results is a familiar page in current history and need not here be dwelt upon. It is sufficient to note the universality of the conquest, and that it was accomplished by a comparatively small army of foreign warriors who crossed the Straits to gain a footing in Southern Spain. The event belongs to the early years of the eighth century. It has been regarded as a matter of wonder that such a conquest of a great and widely extended kingdom, with numerous large cities and strongholds and a vast population whose ancestors at least had been warriors of no mean reputation, could have been so easily and speedily effected.

The Islamite Moors overthrow Teutonic Spain.

This fact, however, is another example of the general dissolution of all things social, civil, and political in the West in the centuries following the downfall of the Roman empire. Under the shadow of that great power the few reclaimed barbarian races had approached the civilized condition, but had not acquired self-confidence and strength. In the course of the Visigothic domination the real rulers had sunk to the popular level, and the old warlike virtues had disappeared. On the other hand, the Moors were inspired to frenzy by the flaming zeal of their new religion. They made war with the fury of barbarians and the steady valor of fatalists. All of Spain, with the exception of the mountainous parts in the northwest, fell under their dominion; and thus was superimposed upon a people already of the most various ethnic origins the new layer of another alien race.

The ease with which the conquest was effected.

It was in the year 711 that the first army of Moors, numbering about five thousand, crossed the Straits, under the leadership of Tarik. The Visigoths under Roderick were overthrown on the Guadalete, and the submission of the whole country rapidly followed. But the Arab rule was easy. Their intelligence and liberality were as conspicuous as their prowess, and they dealt with their Christian subjects as though the conquest had been effected in an enlightened age. The Spanish Jews were freed from the persecutions to which they had long been subject, but otherwise the people were not much interrupted in their religious practices. An odd contingency did much to quench the proselyting zeal of the conquerors. The Visigothic Christians were generally well-to-do in wordly matters, and the plan of taxation was adopted by the conquerors as a method of filling the coffers of Islam. So long as the Christian *remained* a Christian he was a proper subject for the levy. Should he become a Mohammedan the tax must be reduced or altogether abated. The desire to preserve the revenues stimulated the tolerance of the conquerors, and became a sort of protective system over the Christian subjects of the Moorish kingdoms.

Liberal spirit and method of the African conquerors.

It was not until the year of the discovery of America by Columbus that the Moors, after suffering hardships, reverses, and decline through several centuries, were finally expelled from the Spanish peninsula. An inter-

Expulsion of the Moors and restoration of Christianity.

val of nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since they had entered the country. The first half of this period was the time of Arab effulgence and glory in Spain. The last half was the epoch in which the Moors suffered more and more at the hands of the Christians, who gradually recovered their territories, narrowed the foreign race to the province of Granada, and finally effected a complete expulsion of the Islamites into Africa.

BATTLE OF SPANIARDS WITH THE MOORS.

We should expect from so long a domination, and particularly from the splendor and effulgence of the Mohammedan kingdoms of Cordova and Granada, that a large residue of Moorish blood and a still larger trace of Moorish manners and institutions would be left behind as a permanent contribution to the Spanish race. We must here observe, however, that the Arab conquest of Spain was a Semitic movement. Not, indeed, that the Moors were properly Semites, so called; but the Arabs, who were the power behind the invasion, and who constituted the predominant element in the march of Islam westward through Africa and across the Straits into Europe, were out of Shem, and they brought with them the exclusiveness of their race. Like the sons of Israel who had long been a foreign body in the Spanish peninsula, so the sons of Ishmael, though the masters of Spain, continued foreigners; or, if not foreigners, the alienation of race always existed between them and the Visigothic stock of Christians. The struggle between the two races had been from the first religious rather than political. That is, the Arab conquest was the result of the Islamite propaganda in Arabia, Syria, and Europe. There was thus less union between the dominant and the subject race during the times of the Mohammedan ascendency in Spain than has ever happened under like circumstances in any other country, and the final expulsion of the Moors removed to a large extent the ethnic influence of the long dominant people.

Slight ethnic traces of the Moorish ascendency left behind.

But if there was only a slight admixture of blood between the Moors and the composite race over which they so long held the scepter, there were left other abundant traces of their supremacy in the Spanish peninsula. There was a time when under their auspices their capitals in Spain were the intellectual centers of Europe. If some of the Italian cities possessed a greater amount of lore, the Mohammedan cities possessed a greater degree of knowledge. In the palaces of the grandees and oligarchs who had inherited to some extent the treasures of the Roman race in Italy, and among those treasures a considerable portion of the whole intellectual wealth of antiquity, there was doubtless a greater recollection of the past, a greater aggregation of its literary and artistic residue. But in the Spanish Mohammedan capitals of the corresponding age there was a far greater aggregation of that positive and aggressive knowledge which belonged to the future rather than to the past.

Intellectual and artistic life of the Arabs remained.

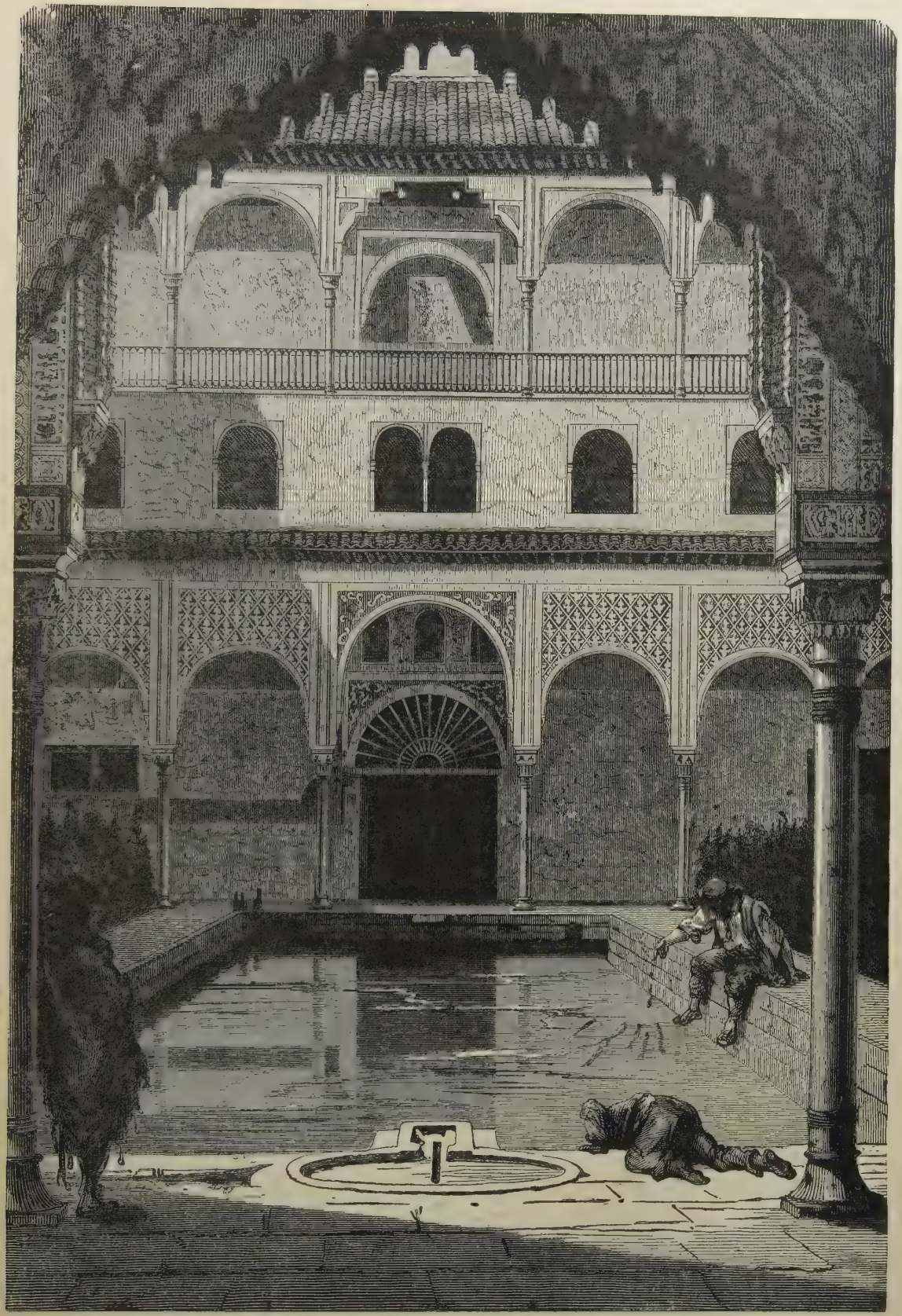
Between these cities of Islam in Spain and the far East there was constant intercommunication. Whatever of scientific acumen the polite and astute Arabs of Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad possessed was transmitted and replanted for a new development in the brilliant Islamite courts of Spain. It were difficult to say to what extent modern Europe is indebted to the intellectual activity and progress of the Mohammedan peoples during their Spanish evolution. We may say that the larger part of the rudiments of those exact sciences which have taken possession of the intellect and in a large measure directed the energies of modern times had their germinal beds in the scholastic haunts of Cordova, Toledo, and Granada. The Arabian system of notation was carried from these intellectual centers to the countries beyond the Pyrenees, and was made the foundation of the mathematical development which was presently to begin its mani-

Learning transmitted to Europe through Moorish Spain.

festations in France, in Italy, and in Germany. The rudiments of chemistry and astronomy were also borne into the northern countries, and there became the fruitful themes of investigation and speculative inquiry. Already in the age of Charlemagne, the most intellectual and learned monarch of the Dark Ages, both general and schoolmaster of his people, the Frankish court was touched with these influences out of Spain. Nor can it be denied that the progress of the physical sciences in the hands of Italian scholars should be referred for many of its primary impulses to the experimentation and deductions of the learned Arabs who frequented the court and adorned the administration of the Moorish kings.

CHARLES THE GREAT—EMPEROR AND SCHOOLMASTER OF WESTERN EUROPE.

Equally pronounced was the influence of the Arabs in Spain on the architecture of the country and subsequently on that of all Europe and America. That peculiar, half-Oriental style of building known as Moresque was introduced at the Moorish capitals and brought to a high degree of perfection. Scarcely has Europe or any country seen a more elaborate and elegant form of architecture. It may be said to be



MOORISH ARCHITECTURE.—Myrtle Court of the Alhambra.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

in the West the representative in tangible form of the dreamy spirit and illusion of the Oriental builders. So superior was the style that it soon prevailed over the Romanesque and Gothic methods of structure which had hitherto been employed by the Spaniards. The beauty and magnificence of the great buildings which the Moorish architects reared in Spain, especially at Cordova, Toledo, and Granada, gave them a reputation in their own age which subsequent times have ratified and approved. The ruins of the Alhambra are the best preserved specimens of the ancient work of the race. It is a style of ornamentation and building which has been disseminated into every country, which has reäppeared in the work of almost every great artist from Raphael to Kaulbach, and which is used in decoration in all kinds of structure from the arabesques of the Vatican to the frescoes of humble ceilings in the homes of American farmers.

Splendor and diffusion of the Moorish architecture.

The ethnic situation in Spain during the greater part of the Middle Ages was one of the most picturesque which has ever been presented. The race prejudices of the Visigothic Spaniards and the Arabs, and more particularly their religious antipathies, prevented such union and amalgamation of the two peoples as might under other circumstances have been expected. Such admixtures, indeed, occurred in all the other countries of Western Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, in which islands the fury of the Saxons was not appeased until the ancient Celtic populations were driven back into the mountains of the west. But in Spain the two peoples continued to live together. In some districts they were actually intermingled, and in most parts of the peninsula the Moorish and Christian settlements were approximate. Constant intercourse was almost a necessity of the situation, and yet hatred was the bottom sentiment with which each regarded the other. The first centuries of the Moorish domination were most peaceful. Afterwards, the relations of the two races became more and more strained, and those perpetual wars ensued which resulted in the ultimate expulsion of the Islamites.

Intercourse but nonunion of the Christians and the Islamites.

The first conquerors assumed toward the Christians an attitude of haughty tolerance, and for a while the subject people bore with equanimity the mastery of Islam. But the elevation of the Crescent and the suppression of the Cross were always grievous facts to the Christian Spaniards. The Mohammedans were quite as zealous in proselyting as were the Christians. They held out to the latter the overtures which the followers of the Prophet always made to the conquered, and in course of time many of the people passed over to the fold of Islam. These were known as Renegades, and were looked upon by the Christian people with horror. The apostasy was nearly always incited by self-interest. It was profitable to stand well with those in power.

Policy of Islam toward the Christian populations.

But in course of time the condition of the Renegades became pitiable. With the relaxation of Mohammedan authority they would gladly have returned to their old faith, but the rules of Islam denounced the punishment of death against every apostate. In course of time the rite of circumcision was prescribed for Christians and Mohammedans alike, and this the Visigothic Spaniards resisted. The idea of being thus classified with the hated Jews was intolerable to those who had for ages persecuted the

Self-inflicted embarrassment and hardships of the Renegades.

sons of Israel with vindictive bitterness. Many other causes of dissension existed, and in course of time constant warfare ensued.

Meanwhile the Crusading wars had come on, and the fight between the Christians and the Infidels in the East was renewed between the Infidels and the Christians in the West. The age of knighthood came. While in all of Europe north of the Pyrenees and the Alps the institution was heroic in show rather than in fact, in Spain the heroism was in fact rather than in show. In certain ages the country was full of Christian warriors clad in mail, who sallied forth, attacking and destroying the Mohammedans. The epoch was redeemed from universal savagery only by the polite sentiments and chivalrous rules of conduct which had, fortunately, become prevalent. At length the minstrels appeared on the scene, and the pilgrims. The minstrel had his harp and his songs of love and war. The pilgrim had his scallop shell and wore the sandal shoon. He had either come from the tomb of Christ or was journeying thither in order that some wickedness of his life might be condoned. As between the two religions, there was hostility, violence, hatred. Such were the conditions under which the most romantic literature known in modern times had its origin—the literature of chivalry and war between the Moors and Christian knights in Spain.

Age of Spanish chivalry and pilgrimages.

We may easily perceive in these antecedents the sources of the sentimental, romantic, and stilted character which the Spaniards displayed from the fourteenth century onward. They had the pride and haughtiness of the Roman, the adventurous disposition of the Goth, the bigotry which a universal Catholicism had instilled, and a chivalry which relapsed into cruelty after the expulsion of the foreign race. It was under such aspects of ethnic development that the Spaniards presented themselves after the discovery of the New World and the opening up of distant islands and continents to conquest and spoliation. Of all the European peoples, they were first and strongest to avail themselves of the new conditions afforded on sea and land. Hitherto the Spanish people had been separated in petty principalities. Castile was one state, Leon another, Aragon a third, while the Moors still held Granada, until they were expelled by Ferdinand the Catholic. Then came the consolidation. The two houses of Castile and Aragon were united by marriage. The peoples coälesced. The Spaniards became one under the consolidated monarchy, and the enterprise of the nation was at once conspicuous both at home and abroad.

Ethnic antecedents of Spanish character in sixteenth century.

Now it was that the Spanish race was carried by its own excursions into the New World. A more vigorous and successful series of conquests has rarely been witnessed than were those by which Mexico and Central and South America were brought under the Spanish flag. The peculiarity of these movements was their irrational character. Many passions were gratified in the lawless activities which the Spanish soldiers and adventurers were able to put forth in the wilds of the New World. But we should look in vain for any settled or systematic policy of conquest. Many traits of the national character were now unconsciously revealed in the expeditions of the Spaniards. In the first place they were impelled by the lust of gold. Vague traditions, enlarged

Impelling spirit of Spanish adventure and discovery.

and ornamented by fancy as they flew, entered the ears and inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards. They sailed hither and yon among the islands of the West Indies, anchored first on this coast and then on that, struck into the interior, traversed unknown regions, and committed unheard of brutalities upon the aborigines in the hope of filling their coffers with gold.

SPANISH BARBARITIES IN THE NEW WORLD.—DESTRUCTION OF THE FLOWER OF GOLD AND HER PEOPLE.

In the second place, the motive was religious propagandism. This, however, was an excuse rather than a real reason for the Spanish expeditions. It

seemed to cover and palliate the barbarities of conquest, the sack and pillage of cities, and the butchery of whole peoples to allege the hope of salvation for the conquered under the uplifted Cross which always accompanied the banner of Castile and Aragon. The student of history is familiar with the dreadful story of devastation and blood in which the subjugation of Mexico is recorded. We view it here simply as the ferocious process by which the Spanish race was established in the city of the Aztecs, from which it was destined to diffuse itself and commingle with the native Mexican races in the production of a not unimportant branch of the human family in the New World. The same thing happened in the isthmus and in the northern countries of South America. But in those regions the amalgamation with the native tribes was by no means so well accomplished as in Mexico. To the present day the Spanish race in the countries last referred to flows in different channels from those which contain the potency of the aboriginal nations.

Passion of propagandism combined with the lust of gold.

It was from the first quarter of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Spanish people displayed their energies in the highest degree of activity and grandeur. Between the epoch of the Spanish conquest in the New World and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, a culmination was reached in the destinies of Spain. The reader will not fail to observe, moreover, that the period here referred to is exactly coïncident with the first century of the Reformation. Cortez was on the march from Tlascala to the seige of Mexico when Luther was burning the Papal Bull before the Elster gate of Wittenberg. The planting of the Spanish power in the New World was thus coïncident in time with the antecedents of its destruction in Europe.

The Spaniards reach their acme at close of sixteenth century.

Within these limits the whole exertion of the government and people of Spain was directed either to conquest and aggrandizement abroad or to the suppression and punishment of heresy at home. It is, on the whole, one of the most doleful and disgraceful chapters in modern history. The story of the methods employed for the extension of the dominion of Spain in the two Americas includes almost every atrocity, injustice, and barbarism known to warfare and subjugation. At a later period in the century all the passion, the vindictiveness, the animosity, and the vigor of the race were turned to the stamping out of heresy in the Netherlands. Doubtless Protestant historians, under the passion of just resentments, have been little disposed to acknowledge any provocation which the Dutch and Flemish reformers may have given to the mother Church and the home authority of Spain. Perhaps they have been little disposed to concede any occasional trace of humanity and justice which the Spaniards may have shown during those long and cruel wars. But enough remains to brand the conflict as the most merciless, vindictive, and cruel of modern times.

Dark race character revealed in the wars against heretics.

The war in the Netherlands was a war engendered in the bosom of imperialism and ecclesiastical bigotry. Its methods were invented by a series of agents who were at once the crowning glory and the crowning shame of the Spanish race. More than any other war of modern times it had in it the elements of butchery, of assassination, and murder. It was one of those per-

Alva's campaigns the climax of human depravity.

nicious climaxes in which the forces of evil, accumulating for centuries, are suddenly expended in violence, devastation, and death. History is not easily provoked, and thinketh no evil, but if she be forced to select from the annals of the past the particular period, the particular event, and the particular agency in which the wickedness, the folly, and the desperation of the human race reached the extreme of infernal insanity, she must, with little hesitation, choose the epoch with which the sixteenth century closed in the Netherlands, the Spanish wars of invasion, and the malignity of Philip II and the Duke of Alva.

The climax was fatal. The laws of human life and of nationality are so adjusted as to make it impossible that any people could long survive such a crisis and such a catastrophe. From the reign of Charles V, Spanish influence in Europe declined with such rapidity as to indicate a complete decadence of the race. Spanish energy collapsed in every department of enterprise to which the precedent genius of the people had been devoted. The great governmental system disappeared as though it had been a shadow. The foreign excursions of the race came suddenly to an end. All of the outposts of Spanish power were suddenly withdrawn, or by maintaining a precarious station abroad became in course of time locally independent. The Spanish intellect abandoned even the claim of superiority. The industries of the country sank to that secondary level on which they have ever since been prosecuted.

The result a fatal catastrophe to the Spanish race.

SPANISH ROYAL TYPE.—PHILIP II.
From the painting by Titian.

IN THE PYRENEES.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from nature.

The machinery of progress was so reversed that the industrial action of the Spaniards turned back from commerce and manufacture to the mere production of raw material.

The reader may not well apprehend without a few specifications the fatal decadence of the Spanish race during the seventeenth century. In every element of power Spain fell back and receded from sight. Territorially considered, Holland extorted a recognition of her independence. Portugal became

Swift decadence of nationality and ethnic life.

COIN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

a separate kingdom. Even the Catalonians were insurrectionary, and scarcely recognized the authority of the central government. France took Roussillon and Cerdagne, and also wrenched away the great provinces of Franche-Comté and South Netherland. Even in Italy, Spanish influence was supplanted by that of the French. On the side of population the falling away was equally momentous. In the epoch of the Arabian ascendency the peninsula had contained fully twenty million of people. When America was discovered Ferdinand and Isabella had still twelve million under their united scepter. But in the time of Charles II, who reigned from 1675 to 1700, the whole population had fallen to fewer than six million!

Meanwhile the agricultural interests had waned after the departure of the Moriscoes. One fourth of all the lands had gone to the monasteries. Nearly all of the secular estates had concentrated, under the law of entail, in the hands of a few grandees, who were as ignorant of production as they were proud of the name of Spaniard and Catholic. A system of half-primitive sheep farming succeeded the cultivation of the soil. A regulation as old as the twelfth century had forbidden the inclosure of lands, to the end that the flocks might be driven from place to place. The revenues of the government were farmed out to a monopoly, called *La Mesta*, which maintained itself by taxes on wool. The rich old forests had been swept away, but no new trees were planted, and the country tended to a desert. Skilled artisans were not to be found anywhere in the peninsula.

Spanish industries go back to primitive conditions.

There was, perhaps, at the middle of the seventeenth century not a native Spanish shipbuilder in the kingdom. In the meantime Madrid and the other leading cities were crowded with foreign adventurers, who fleeced the inhabitants and went away with the remaining store of gold. The *Cavala*, or revenue tax on sales, which had been devised by Ximenes, was reëstablished under Philip II, and the rate was increased to fourteen per cent. Five sixths of all the manufactured goods used by the Spaniards were imported from foreign countries. At the battle of Lepanto, in 1571, Don John of Austria, son of Charles V, had in his fleet a hundred Spanish men-of-war. Seventeen years later the invincible armada, with its one hundred and thirty ships and two thousand four hundred and thirty-one guns, bore down on England, portending the overthrow of the monarchy and disaster to the whole English-speaking race. And yet the same power which sent forth these

Merchant marine and war fleets sink into insignificance.

tremendous armaments was in the reign of Charles II compelled to borrow a few insignificant Genoese vessels in order to

PEASANT OF JIJONA—TYPE.
Drawn by Thiriat.

maintain even a nominal connection with the Spanish settlements in the New World!

Only in one respect was the ancient status maintained. Only in one particular did the beginning of the eighteenth century—aye, the beginning of the nineteenth find the Spanish race as it had been at the beginning of the seventeenth. Religiously, it had held to the ancient dogma with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. The reformation of religion in its progress from Germany to the west and southwest had been as speedily and effectually stayed with the Pyrenees as though it had been a malarial infection which could in no wise ascend the mountains. The inquisitorial apparatus of the orthodox faith and the countervailing vigilance of the Spanish Church did their work so effectually in the Spanish peninsula that to the present day the protest of the human conscience, the cry of the human intellect for emancipation, has been unheeded and unheard; and it may well surprise the reader to note that of the sixteen million six hundred and thirty-four thousand three hundred and forty-five inhabitants returned by the census of 1877, no fewer than sixteen million six hundred and three thousand nine hundred and fifty-five were professed adherents of the Catholic Church. The solidarity of the ancient house has never been shattered or disturbed.

Religious reformation makes no headway among the Spaniards.

In reviewing the multifarious elements which come into the composition of a race, the beginner in ethnography is likely to be confused with the suspicion that all peoples are mere conglomerates, made up from diverse sources through different ages of development. In the instance before us we have seen a sub-

Summary of race elements in the Spanish composition.

WORKMAN OF ALICANTE—TYPE.
Drawn by Thiriat.

stratum of Iberians, Basques, and Celts overlaid with a stronger but thinner covering of Roman life. Subsequently a

Visigothic layer was spread over the surface of this, and finally a Moorish element was distributed over the country. In the meantime, through many centu-

A PESCADOR—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Vuillier.

ries, marriage and cross relations of every sort had fused the blood of the Spanish race, and the people had taken a new type as peculiar to themselves as any of the simple ethnic characters of antiquity. We should, therefore, viewing the question superficially, conclude that the designation of the Spaniards as a Latin race is to strain the natural conditions and force a construction which the facts may hardly warrant.

But it must be remembered that in the admixture of life with life and of the compound thus formed with some other life one or other of the elements will, in course of time, assert itself and predominate over the rest. There is always a *strongest* component part which gains the ascendency in the new formation and gives character to the whole. In the intermixture of the animal races the same thing is true. In the cross-breeding of two species it very rarely happens that an intermediate type is fixed between them. However equally the two specific elements may be blended, one or the other will gain the mastery, and the new variety will drift off in the direction

Always a strongest part in the character of a race.

OLD WOMAN OF VICENTA—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Vuillier.

of one parentage until the marks of the other have disappeared.

This law becomes stronger and stronger in its manifestation as we

ascend through the various races of living creatures. In individual men we find the unmistakable lineaments and character of some particular ancestor. Many of the other fathers and mothers who have contributed equally in blood to the formation of the individual life before us have left no distinctive traits in its composition. One single element has been transmitted downwards from the ancestor who may be, either on the father's or the mother's side, distant by seven generations. So it is in ethnic composition. A given race element in ancestry will rise above all the rest, and will assert itself in determining the character of a coming people. This antecedent element is the strongest part of the new national character. In the case of the Spaniards, it was the Roman fatherhood of the race that gave it its character. All the other elements—Basque, Celtic, Iberian, Visigothic, and a trace of Arabian—were absorbed by the master blood and used as nutriment by the dominant power, which determined the character of the whole. Thus the Spanish race perpetuated the traits of its Latin ancestry, showing only incidentally and in certain aspects the traces of its derivation from another lineage.

Dominant element in Spanish life was the Roman.

It nearly always happens that this determining element in the formation of ethnic character is closely associated with the fact of language. Language may be generally used as the index to discover the predominance of blood in a composite race. Perhaps in a few instances the law may not hold good; but as a rule it may be used as a certain indication of the leading element in race character and derivation. This is to say that the same antecedent condition of strength which gave the superior element of blood also gave the preference for one among several varieties of speech. The dominant blood prevails in the tongue and in the brain, in the formation of thought and in its utterance; so that the ethnologist, as a rule, may fasten upon the tangible fact of language as a sure evidence of the source from which a composite people has derived its strength and predominant ethnic traits. This is true in the case of the Spanish people. Their language fixes them into

Language an index of the prevailing race paternity.

BULL FIGHTERS—TYPES.

the Latin stem, and shows conclusively that the prevailing disposition of the race has been derived ultimately not from the Iberians, not from a Visigothic source, but from the persistent and powerful blood of ancient Rome.

The Spanish language, though distinctly a romance or Latin speech in the secondary stages of development, presents itself under at least two forms of evolution. The first of these is *Castilian*, and the second *Catalan*. The Cas-

The Spanish tongue parts into Castilian and Catalan.

BLANCHE OF CASTILE—TYPE.

tilian dialect is spoken in about two thirds of the peninsula, and the Catalan in the long strip of territory bordering the east and southeast of Spain. The name Castilian as applied to the principal variety of Spanish is derived from the kingdom of Castile, which is the center of its development. It may be regarded as the true language of the Spanish race. Some linguistic reasons might even be advanced for regarding Castilian as the mother-stock of Portuguese, but in the present work we shall consider the Portuguese race by itself, as an independent derivative of the Latin stirps. It was Castilian and not Catalan which, in the sixteenth century, was carried by the Spanish navigators westward into the New World and eastward into Asia. There was a time during the Spanish ascendency when, like the English of the nineteenth century, the Castilian language seemed destined to become the language of mankind. But it suffered shipwreck and ruin along with the political and civil destinies of Spain at the close of the sixteenth century.

Castilian is preëminently a Latin language. It competes with the Italian in the nearness of its affinities with the parent speech. It is a well developed language, showing unmistakable marks of the vigor and independence of the Spanish mind in the age of its formation. As fully as any other of the Latin derivatives it has preserved the sonorousness and stately dignity of the original. It has, moreover, taken on a musical character much superior to the corresponding quality in Latin. While it is wanting in the freedom, variety, and cogency of English, it may with justice be regarded as one of the most dignified and elegant media of intercourse employed by any people of modern times. Away from its native center in Spain, the Spanish tongue has been corrupted by the races that have adopted it as a vehicle of expression. In Mexico, for instance, except in the capital and a few other cities of culture, Spanish has been greatly deteriorated both in its structure and vocabulary by the intermixture of elements derived from the native languages of the country.

Castilian a Latin derivative; linguistic deterioration abroad.

We shall not here enter into linguistic particulars to show at what time and

by what agencies the Castilian tongue was fixed in its character or by what features it is distinguished from the cognate languages such as Italian, Provençal, and Portuguese. As throwing light upon the ethnic divisions of the Spanish race, we may mention the fact that there are recognized by scholars four dialects of Castilian, though the differences among these are hardly sufficient to be made the basis of dialectical classification. The first of these forms is the *Asturian* idiom spoken in the Asturias, in the extreme north of the peninsula. The second is the *Navarro-Aragonese*, the name of which again indicates the locus of the dialect next to the French frontier. The third idiom is the *Andalusian*, in which the departures from the classical Castilian tongue are more pronounced than in either of the preceding dialects. The province of Andalusia, which is the home of the dialect, is in general coïncident with the valley of the Guadalquiver, being the southernmost region of the peninsula.

Dialects of Castilian; Andalusian parent of South American.

It is of interest to note that Andalusian rather than Central Castilian appears to have been the origin of those varieties of Spanish which are spoken under many local inflections in the countries of South America. It has been remarked by scholars that many of the peculiarities of the South American tongues of Spanish descent are identical with the like features of Castilian as it is spoken in Andalusia. Whether this fact may indicate a historical connection between the Hispanio-South Americans and the people of the southern portion of the Spanish peninsula, or whether it is simply a coincidence of development in the two countries, it were difficult to determine.

The fourth and last variety of Castilian is *Leonese*, being that form of the language which was developed in the ancient kingdom of Leon. The inflection in this instance, however, from the regular standards of Castilian, as that tongue is spoken and written by the scholars of Madrid, is so slight as hardly to constitute a basis of dialectical distinction. In fact, all of the varying idioms which we have here considered have differences the one from the other so unimportant as to be neglected in the common intercourse of the people of the Spanish provinces.

Slight deflection of Leonese from Castilian Spanish.

The other principal branch of the Spanish language is the Catalan. Its seat of development is in the northeastern part of the peninsula, high up next to the mountains. Its distribution is not coïncident with the political division of the country known as Catalonia. The language is strongly distinguished in its characteristics from Castilian, insomuch that we might infer a distinct stem set into the Latin race as the origin of the Catalonian peoples. But we are able to account historically for the peculiarities of the language, particularly for its divergence from the classical Castilian tongue.

Place and linguistic descent of Catalan.

The antecedents of this epoch of linguistic development and of several other ethnic peculiarities of the Catalonians are referable to the Moorish conquest of Spain. When the Arab armies came in on the south the Visigothic populations were greatly disturbed and distressed. As the war of subjugation proceeded northwards from the Straits in the direction of the Pyrenees, the native populations were crowded back upon each other. It always happens in such emergencies that a part of the resi-

dent people will take the hazards of remaining in their settlements, while the more timid prefer flight and exile. There was thus started a wave of Visigothic migration which rolled northwards before the Mohammedan invaders, ascended the mountain slopes and poured over into France.

During the time of the Moorish ascendency, extending through several centuries, the population on the northern side of the Pyrenees was largely the result of this Spanish exodus. In this epoch the language spoken by the Visigothic immigrants coälesced with Provençal spoken in the French provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne. In course of time the Mohammedan power began to wane, and the Christian peoples regathering their courage attacked the Moors, and the retrograde movement which ended in their expulsion began. No sooner had the Mohammedans begun to recede from the north than the transmontane Spaniards were drawn back across the Pyrenees, bringing with them the language and customs which they had formed in common with the peoples of Southwestern France. It thus happened that in the northeastern part of the Spanish peninsula the Catalonian race came into possession of a speech very different from that which had been developed in the meantime in the center of Spain. This language became the vernacular of Aragon, and was spoken in that mediæval kingdom at the time of the union of the crown with that of Castile and Leon.

Influences by which the language was fixed in its forms.

It can easily be perceived from the movements which we have described in the last paragraphs how completely the Provençal and Catalonian races were interfused. The highlands of the Pyrenees constituted no impassable barrier between them. The original Basques had belonged to both slopes of the mountains. In subsequent times the peoples on the north and those on the south of the dividing range fluctuated back and forth according to the race movements by which they were pressed in the one direction or the other. The passes of the Pyrenees are more easy than those of other mountain chains of equal height. The dangers encountered on passing back and forth from France into Spain are less than those attendant upon similar expeditions in other mountainous regions. The primitive Celts found it so when they passed into the peninsula and afterwards returned into France and Germany. The Basques found it so; and the Visigoths easily made their way through after the Vandals and the Alani. Charlemagne had no trouble in carrying his armies from side to side. In all subsequent times the movement has been easy, and the peoples on the two sides of the dividing line of the Pyrenees are to-day less discriminated in blood and language than are they on the two banks of the Rhine.

Easiness of race interfusion across the Pyrenees.

It is a strange fact that literature begins where language ends. We speak of the living language and the living literature. By this is meant that the expansive, formative, growing age of a language is preliterary. So soon as a given speech passes into literary use it ceases to grow, becomes fixed, and, *as a language*, dies. The first great poets of a race give, without intending it, the death-stab to the splendid vehicle of thought which they find already prepared to their hands. When the first great epic is written in any tongue, the lexicon becomes a possibility; and the lexicon is the monumental shaft, white and cold,

How the birth of literature is the death of language.

RACE CONFLICTS IN SPAIN.—Expulsion of the Gypsies.—From the painting by Edwin Long

above the language whose life and death it commemorates.

The Spanish language became, by growth and expansion, a fitting instrument of expression as early as the twelfth century. The oldest extant Spanish book dates to about the year 1150. It is called the *Mystery of the Magian Kings*, and was intended, at the time of its composition, as a liturgical play, to be enacted in the Church of Toledo at the feast of the Epiphany. It corresponds in its subject-matter and somewhat in its manner to the old *Mysteries* of English literature.

First passages of the Spanish muse in drama and epic.

Already by this time had been prepared the materials of epic poetry. The great national hero of Spain, Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, commonly called the Cid, died in the year 1099, preceding his antitype, the Lion Heart, of England, by precisely a century. It was the exploits of the Cid, his fidelity and heroism in his relations with King Alfonso VI that furnished the Spanish Homers with the materials of their *Iliads*. The age was rife with adventure. Moorish civilization had reached its acme in Europe. All the conditions were present in the Spanish peninsula for the morning of song. Nor did the bards fail to rehearse, after the manner of their kind, the great deeds of their idols. Roderick, the last of the Visigoths, Bernardo del Carpio, who overthrew Roland at Roncesvalles, and the Infantes of Lara, were the other heroes whose lives and fame were celebrated by the Castilian rhapsodists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Next came an epoch of religious and didactic poetry, and then, in the fourteenth century, arose Juan Ruiz, greatest of the Spanish poets of the Middle Ages, who gathered by translation and imitation from Ovid and others the materials of his *Poem of Love*. It was an age of many songs. The minstrels and troubadours were abroad. The air was filled with romance and adventure. The composition of short, epic or narrative poems and historical ballads and lyrics to be sung to the accompaniment of the harp was the amusement of the age. During the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century the romances of Spain surpassed in number and variety the literary productions of any other country in Europe, with the single exception of Italy.

Juan Ruiz and the outburst of mediæval song.

Meanwhile prose chronicles had appeared, and the materials of formal history began to be prepared after the manner in which old Fabian and Hall and Holinshed laid the foundations for the historical and dramatical literature of England. The expulsion of the Moors, the memory of their long presence in the country, the tradition of the endless conflicts between them and the native Christians, had contributed to the age the subject-matter of a large mass of authentic annals and of infinite romances. The latter style of composition continued to absorb the genius of Spain until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the composition of *Don Quixote*, by exciting universal laughter at the expense of the high-wrought and fictitious stories which had occupied the reading hours of the Spaniards for so long a time, swept away as if by magic the romantic style of authorship. It was literally true that

Prose chronicles; Cervantes smiles Spain's chivalry away.

"Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away."

Miguel Cervantes was born in the year of the death of Henry VIII of England. His life overlapped that of Charles V by

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

eleven years. He was contemporary with Philip II. Had it not been for his capture by the Algerine corsairs, he would doubtless have been compelled to serve under the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, for he was a soldier. The first part of his great work was published about 1604, and the second part eleven years afterwards. It was the culmination of the genius of Spain. We might well regard it as one of the most astonishing contrasts afforded in the history of mankind—this picture of an impossible and absurd knighthood, exciting first the hilarity of Spain and afterwards the laughter of all the world, hung up against a background of burning towns, swinging gallowses, and bloody gibbets in the Spanish Netherlands. Astonishing spectacle to see the son and successor of Charles V looking out of his palace window at Madrid, watching the hilarious convulsions of a student with a book in his hand on the other side of the river Manzanares, and saying of him, "He is either crazy, *or is reading Don Quixote!*"

Historical settings and background of "Don Quixote."

The rise of the Spanish intellect was coïncident with the culminating tendencies in the race. These reached their acme, as we have seen, with the close of the sixteenth century. The literature of Spain ran the same course, and fell afterwards into the same paralytic condition. A few fitful gleams of intellectual activity survived the decadence of the kingdom; but on the whole the genius of the Spanish race perished with its power amid the crimes and follies which closed at once the century and the life of that most conspicuous of all historical marplots, Philip II. During the whole of the seventeenth century the Spanish intellect declined in its powers, and consequently in its products. Hardly any works in any department of literature were produced which have exercised an influence on the destinies of civilization. Some slight allowance must be made for the fact that Spain, being shut off by the Pyrenees from rapid and easy communication with the rest of Europe, and still more isolated by her prejudices and reactionary policy, has not fallen in with the intellectual, and particularly the literary, activities of modern times. But the essential weakness, the mediæval cast of the Spanish mind, and the political and religious simplicity of all the writings of Spain are still more the causes of her deterioration in rank and the abasement of her fame.

Coïncident development of literature and nationality.

Two great crises in the history of Spain have occurred in modern times which, under more favorable circumstances, might have electrified the half-dormant genius of the people and produced a corresponding revival in literary production. The first of these was the accession of the Bourbon kings at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Not, indeed, that the incoming of a new dynasty is of itself a circumstance likely to produce intellectual results. But the accession of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne must needs bring the monarchy, and with it the whole Spanish people, into close sympathy, not to say affiliation, with the French. The preceding age, that of Louis XIII, in France had been marvelous for the extent and variety of French literary products. The reign of the Grand Monarch has generally been accredited with the literary effulgence which more properly belongs to his predecessor's time. It can not be doubted, however, that with the conclusion of the seventeenth century the volume of French intellect

Political crises fail to arouse the Spanish intellect to activity.

and learning was rolling in full and copious currents through every channel of activity. That Spain under the Bourbon princes might be expected to sympathize with the culture north of the Pyrenees was not an unreasonable thought.

The result, however, did not answer to the expectation. The same is true of the much greater crisis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From 1808 to 1814 the Spaniards were engaged in a tremendous struggle for national existence. They had been cozened by the Man of Corsica out of all semblance of character or independence, and were aroused to a considerable degree of resentment and vindictive passion. But the genius of the race was too lethargic to be shocked into life even by this powerful galvanism, under whose currents all Europe was quivering into new conditions of progress.

As to Catalan literature, only a few words need be said. With the return of the Catalonians from beyond the Pyrenees, they brought with them the elements of culture which were germinating in Provence. It was of that peculiar Gallo-Roman type which was destined, in the hands of the Provençal troubadours, to create an ideal, but evanescent, poesy. During the latter half of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth century the Catalan literary development might be regarded as a branch of that of Southwestern France. It was the poetry and romance of the old Langue d'Oc transplanted to the southern slopes of the Pyrenees. In the fifteenth century the Catalan culture reached its golden age. The kings of Aragon patronized literature, and there was founded in Barcelona a literary consistory called the "Gay Saber," similar to that of Toulouse.

Symptoms of an independent Catalan literature.

From this center sprang up a second development of song in a form more different from the Provençal than had hitherto existed in the south. Meanwhile, in the period from the thirteenth

VIEW IN CATALONIA.—Berga.—Drawn by Albert Tissamdier, from nature.

to the fifteenth centuries, a class of prose writers who modeled their works after the chronicles of the Provençal school sprang up, and presently rivaled the Catalan troubadours in the extent and variety of their compositions. In the fifteenth century many translations were made into Catalan from the Latin classics, and the foundations were laid for a permanent and extensive literature.

The Catalonian stream flows into the Spanish channel.

But in the meantime Aragon, by the union of the two crowns, had been merged in the monarchy of Spain. The nationality of the Aragonese was thus abbreviated; and the distinctive intellectual features of the race subsided in the common culture of the country. To the present time, however, the speech is preserved and is taught as a classic in the schools of the province, where the language still subsists as the vernacular.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE PORTUGUESE.

WE now come to consider the fourth of the Latin races, the Portuguese. There may not be discovered in geography much reason for regarding Portugal as a country different from Spain. It is not separated therefrom by any mountain range or other natural demarkation. All of the three principal rivers of Portugal have their rise and upper waters in Spain, and the two countries are uniform in constitution along the border line. Nevertheless, it is more in accordance with the facts to regard the Portuguese as a distinct branch of the Latin stock than merely as an offshoot from the Spanish race. The relations of the Portuguese to the Spaniards, ethnically considered, are very much like those of the Provençals to the French—an analogy which will hereafter be further elucidated.

Portuguese race more distinct than the country.

The ethnic composition of the population of Portugal is another example of the admixture of many bloods. The northern provinces are settled by people who are derived from the same family with the Galician branch of the Spaniards. It is in this part of the country that the race is of purest derivation, as with the advance southward the interfusion of foreign bloods becomes more noticeable. In the Middle Ages the Portuguese held more friendly relations with the Moors than did the people of Castile or Andalusia. They contracted many marriages with the Arabs and their descendants, and the trace of this affiliation is still present in the blood and speech of the people.

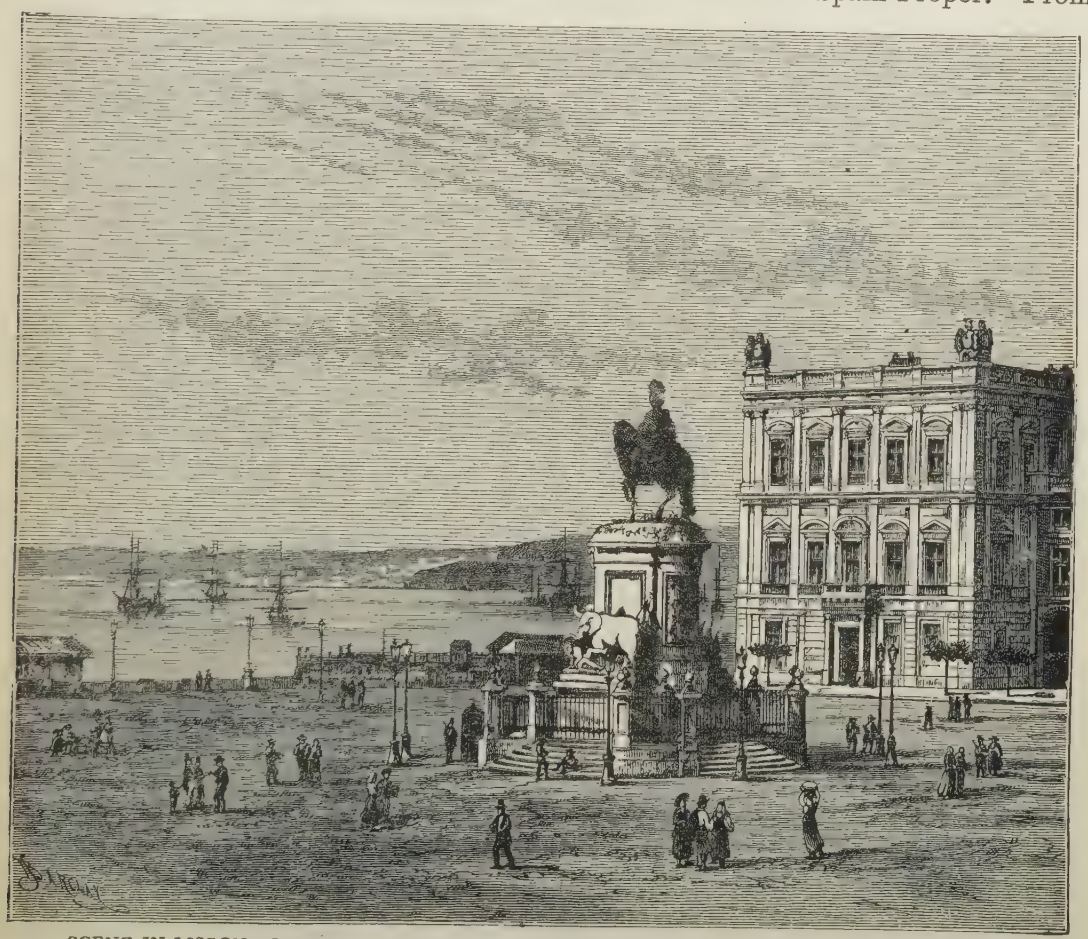
Admixture of bloods in the formation of the stock.

At a later age, when the Moors were expelled, the Portuguese adopted the policy of planting colonies of Crusaders in the place vacated by the African foreigners. Large numbers of French, English, Dutch, and Frisians were thus incorporated, about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the Portuguese stock. The people were more tolerant of foreigners than were almost any other of the southern or western populations of Europe. Even the Jews were treated with respect in Portugal, and many intermarriages occurred between the sons of the country and the daughters of Israel. Most or all of these foreign influ-

ences may to the present time be traced by the ethnologist in the physiognomy, the manners and customs and speech of the Portuguese people.

Iberians and Celts followed by Visigoths and Vandals.

In the first place, however, it is well to glance back to fundamental conditions. Portugal is a part of the Iberian peninsula, and has from the first shared in general the ethnological and historical vicissitudes of the countries south of the Pyrenees. In the horizon of the prehistoric ages we discover the first strata of population in the Iberians and the Celts. There are traditions of the colonization of the country by the Phœnicians and of conquests by the Carthaginians. It may not be doubted that the early relations of the peoples of this region with those of the South and the East were such as to give a tinge to the whole subsequent ethnic evolution of the race. In the fifth century the Visigoths followed the Vandals and the Alani in their conquests of the country; but the Visigothic invasion was permanent in its results. The situation was the same as that in Spain Proper. From the time of the establishment of the Gothic race to the close of the eleventh century the destinies of Portugal were in no essential particular different from those of the other Spanish provinces.



SCENE IN LISBON.—Palace of Commerce and Statue of Joseph I.—Drawn by Barclay, from a photograph.

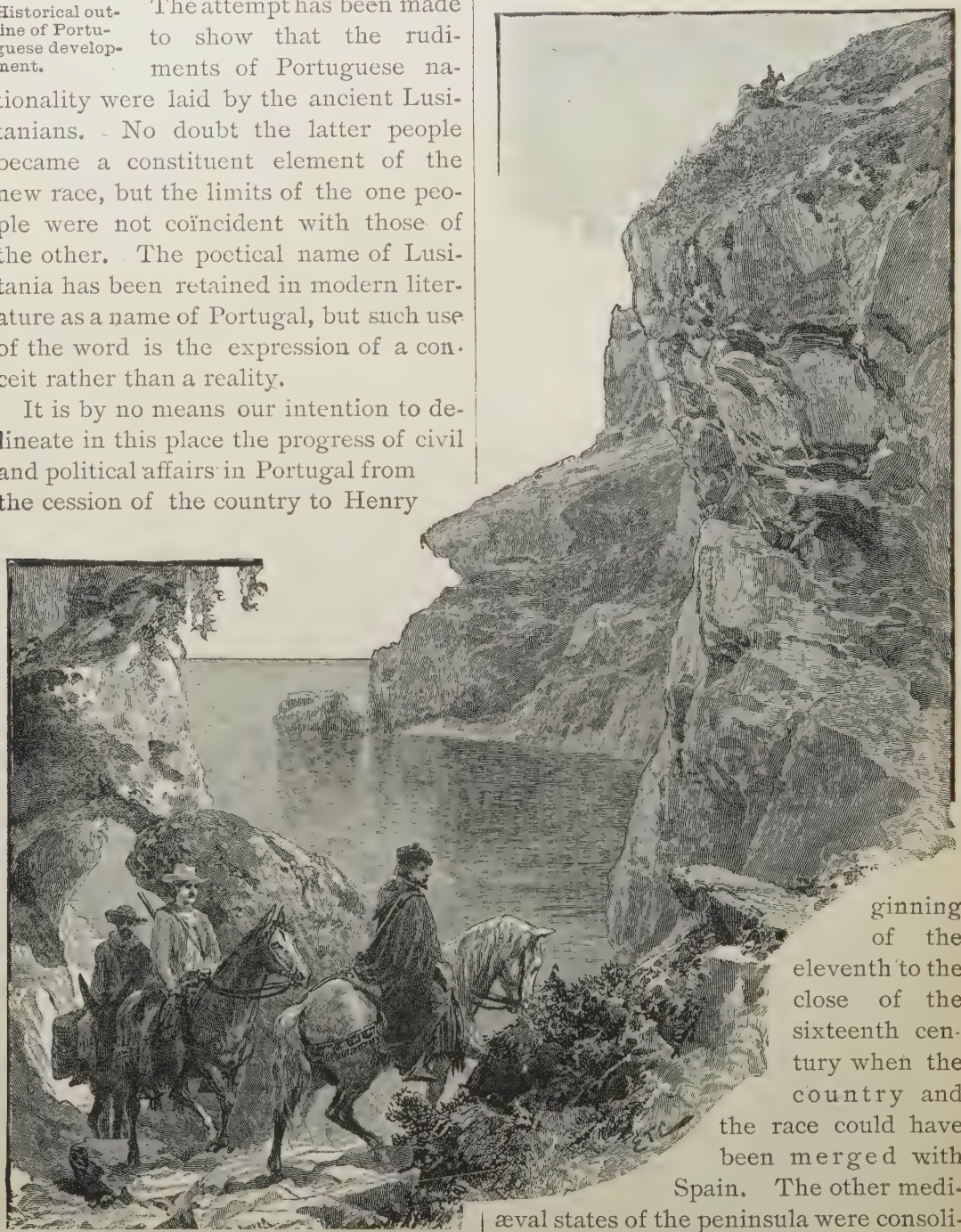
The separate career of Portugal, historically considered, is said to begin with the year 1094, when the country

called Terra Portucalensis was given as a fief to Count Henry of Burgundy.

Historical outline of Portuguese development.

The attempt has been made to show that the rudiments of Portuguese nationality were laid by the ancient Lusitanians. No doubt the latter people became a constituent element of the new race, but the limits of the one people were not coïncident with those of the other. The poetical name of Lusitania has been retained in modern literature as a name of Portugal, but such use of the word is the expression of a conceit rather than a reality.

It is by no means our intention to delineate in this place the progress of civil and political affairs in Portugal from the cession of the country to Henry of Burgundy down to the time of the Spanish domination, which was established in 1580. There may have been times in this long span from the beginning of the eleventh to the close of the sixteenth century when the country and the race could have been merged with Spain. The other mediæval states of the peninsula were consolidated, as we have seen, in the times of Ferdinand and Isabella. The political union of Castile and Aragon was merely a tangible expression of the fusion of the



COAST ROAD NEAR ADRA, IN ANDALUSIA.
Drawn by E. T Compton.

Spanish people, but in this consolidation the Portuguese were not a part.

The race distinguished by its adventurers.

It was about the middle of the fifteenth century when the race became self-conscious. Portuguese genius began to express itself in various forms of enterprise, some of which have been reflected into current history. Vasco da Gama appeared and discovered the southeast passage around the globe. Not long afterwards Magellan took the southwest route across the illimitable waters, with the same triumphant result. Alfonso de Albuquerque, following in the pathway of Da Gama, established on the island of Ormuz—the great *entrepôt* of commerce between Persia and India—the first Portuguese colony in the East, from which as a center has radiated all the subsequent European domination of that country. In course of time the settlements thus established were destined to give place to the Dutch, then to the French, and finally to the English, whose magisterial skill has placed a population of two hundred million under the sway of the British scepter.

The "Sixty Years' Captivity;" Brazilian colonization.

These outputtings of Portuguese power and enterprise awakened the ambition and consciousness of the race; and when three quarters of a century afterwards Philip II of Spain attempted the consolidation of Portugal with his own dominions, he found that the spirit of nationality would not brook the merging of the Western people with the other states of the peninsula. The domination of the Spanish crown, called in the half-satirical language of the Portuguese historians "the Sixty Years' Captivity," only extended to the year 1640, when Portugal reässerted her independence, and has maintained it, with only an occasional break, to the present time.

The excursion of the race through the Western waters to the shores of South America was destined to produce much greater results. Of all the plantings by foreign peoples in the New World south of the Rio Grande del Norte, that accomplished by the Portuguese at the mouths of the Rio Amazonas and Rio Sâo Francisco were the most permanent and successful. Brazilian independence and nationality have risen in majesty and strength from these plantings; and a Great Portugal, like the Great Greece

VASCO DA GAMA.

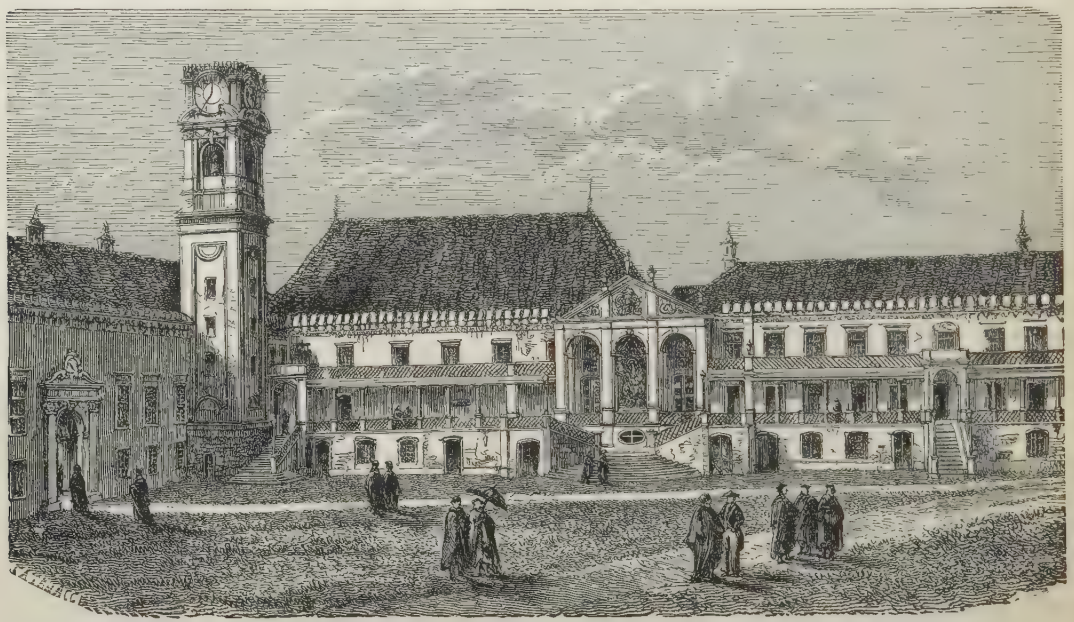
of antiquity and the real Great Britain—which is America—has surpassed by nearly ninety-fold the geographical area of the mother country.

Circumstances tending to produce a Portuguese literature.

The consciousness of having a national history of their own has in all of their career stimulated the spirit and maintained the independence of the Portuguese people. The large intermixture of foreign elements to which we referred above has also added to the Portuguese character some traits of personality for which we should look in vain among the Spaniards.

These facts have contributed to the individual development of a Portuguese language and literature. We have seen that the first forms of the folk speech which succeeded Latin in the countries north of the mountains were the *Langue d'Oil* in the north and the *Langue d'Oc* in the south of France. Corresponding to these two forms of language there was developed in the Iberian peninsula what was known as the *Lingua Romana Rustica*. This was produced in the Christian populations only accepted the language of their Arabian conquerors by force of authority. In the country provinces the Rustica continued to be spoken until the decline of the Moorish kingdom. Portugal shared with Spain the linguistic vicissitudes here described. With the recession of the Moors and their replacement, as we have seen, with colonies of Crusaders, the Rustic Latin revived and took a new development in the form of Portuguese. It was at this point that the linguistic history of Portugal departs from that of Spain, and maintains ever afterwards an independent course of development. Portuguese bears a strong resemblance to Spanish. Its origin in its present form may be traced to the eleventh century. But the speech of that early epoch was not refined into a vehicle of literature and polite communication until two hundred years afterwards; and it required three centuries additional to bring in what is known as the golden age of

Rustic Latin revives after the expulsion of the Moors



PORTUGUESE LEARNING.—UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRE.—Drawn by H. Catenacci, from a photograph by Seabra.

century following the Visigothic conquest, and continued to be the language of the provinces south and west of Catalonia until the time of the Arabian ascendency. The language of the Moors then took the place of the Lingua Rustica, and became the speech of the country, at least of the upper classes of society, in all parts except in some of the remote and mountainous districts.

The situation in Portugal for two centuries—from the tenth to the twelfth—was not unlike that which succeeded the Norman conquest in England. The

Portuguese literature. In the sixteenth century the language had reached a completeness in its grammatical structure and vocabulary from which it has departed but little to the present day.

It is claimed by scholars that the Portuguese language may be regarded as the eldest daughter of Latin. In many respects the features of the original tongue are better preserved in Portuguese than in any of the cognate languages. It is, perhaps, true that the traveler will hear in the streets of Rio Janeiro at the present time a language which, in its pronunciation, its tone, its accent and harmony, is more nearly a reproduction of Latin, such as it was in the first centuries of the empire, than is the language heard in the streets of Rome. It is a strange and instructive fact that, flowing forth on the tides of ethnic history and drifting across continents and oceans, through a span of fully eighty-eight degrees of longitude and more than seventy-five degrees of latitude, passing through the equatorial regions of the earth and suffering all manner of violence and disaster, the Portuguese language has thus, even on the frontiers of Brazil, so well preserved the tongue of the Albanian fathers as it was heard in the forum at Rome before the Christian era.

Notable preservation of Latin in Portuguese.

PORT OF SERPA.—Drawn by Riou.

Portuguese is one of the softest and sweetest media of communication employed among the modern races. It is more easy of utterance and more fluent than Spanish. Sismondi, employing an

Characteristics of the language; spoken by fifteen million.

anatomical metaphor, calls it a *boneless* Castilian. The Spaniards themselves, recognizing the mellifluous character of the sister tongues, define it as a language of flowers. It can not be doubted that it is one of the softest and most voluptuous languages of modern times, melting into cadences and tones that might well remind one of the music and rhythm of Ionic Greek. Doubtless these qualities which have been attained by the reduction of the consonantal and the augmentation of the vocalic elements of the language have somewhat weakened it as a vehicle for robust and energetic expression, but it has retained so much of the precision and force of the original Latin that it must not be regarded as merely an effeminate and tropical form of speech.

Portuguese has shown itself capable of containing a fair average proportion of modern literature, and has more than held its own in recent centuries with the more pretentious language of Spain. It is at the present time the vehicle of intercourse, in Europe and South America, for more than fifteen million of people, and is spoken over a territory nearly four million square miles in extent.

Outline of the literary evolution in Portugal.

The literary development of Portugal has been correlated in every part with the civil history of the country. We have remaining for our study many fragments of the songs of the courtly troubadours who, as early as the latter part of the twelfth century and during the larger part of the thirteenth, constituted a literary class as well in Portugal as in Spain and Provence. At this epoch the language was becoming a vehicle of literature, perfecting its forms, choosing its meters, and filling its vocabulary. At the beginning of the twelfth century, with the accession of Affonzo Henriques the influence of Southern France was distinctly felt at the Portuguese court, and gave a direction to the work of the poets. Lyrical productions continued to constitute the exclusive literature until the thirteenth century, when the epic appeared. The history of the Portuguese, their relations with the Moors, their inheritance by the hands of the returning Crusaders of a vast collection of stories out of the East, gave the material for narrative compositions similar to those of the French trouveres. The first Portuguese novel in prose was a translation of *Amadis de Gaul*, by Vasco de Lobeira, who died in 1403. A little later the historical chronicle appeared and theological writings, such as those which were cultivated among the schoolmen of the north.

Influence of classical models romance and adventure.

During the fifteenth century there was a revival of lyric poetry, and with the sixteenth came the golden age, in which, by the rendition of the Latin classics, the Portuguese intellect was turned to the imitation of classical models and the production of original works in the same spirit with those of the ancients. The Portuguese biographies, histories, and travels of the sixteenth century are among the most brilliant and fascinating writings which the modern world has inherited from that age of romance and adventure. About the exploits of Da Gama, Magellan, and Albuquerque, a whole cycle of literary narratives, written for a large part by the participants in the adventures recorded, sprang into existence, reminding one of the similar works produced by the English maritime heroes—Drake, Frobisher, Hakluyt, Smith—of the age of Elizabeth.

In one particular at least the Portu

FISH MERCHANTS OF LISBON.—TYPES.—Drawn by E. Ronjat.

guese race, considered as a branch of the human family, has distinguished itself from the cognate Spanish division. It has preserved to the present day much of its original force and character. It has never suffered such a disastrous decline as that which has afflicted the Spanish family. The paralysis which overtook Spain at the close of the sixteenth century, and which has left her inactive and lethargic to the present day, did not seriously spread into Portugal. Whether we examine the industries of the country, the commercial and colonial enterprises which were started with the discovery of the New World, or the intellectual and literary achievement of the Portuguese of the present age, we are spared the spectacle of race decline which is presented in the rest of the Iberian peninsula.

The Portuguese have preserved their ethnic vigor.

It is not meant that the Portuguese have in the last three centuries kept pace with the energetic nations north of the mountains. Much less have they rivaled the prodigious activities of the English-speaking family in the Old and the New World. But they have not lapsed into imbecility—have not become a caricature and mockery of themselves as they appeared in the sixteenth century. Portuguese genius has been oppressed and distressed, in common with the spirit and intellect of all the Latin races, by the shadow of Rome, but the anti-progressive repression of that ancient power, having its center in the Vatican palace, has not been so dreadful a weight on the Portuguese as on the Italians and the Spaniards. Indeed, it remains to be seen whether this branch of the Latin family will not yet, in the republic of Brazil at least if not in the mother country, assert itself against the traditions of the past, challenge conservatism, and rise into those vast and progressive activities which mark the forward march of all the emancipated peoples.

Genius of the race repressed by the spirit of Rome.

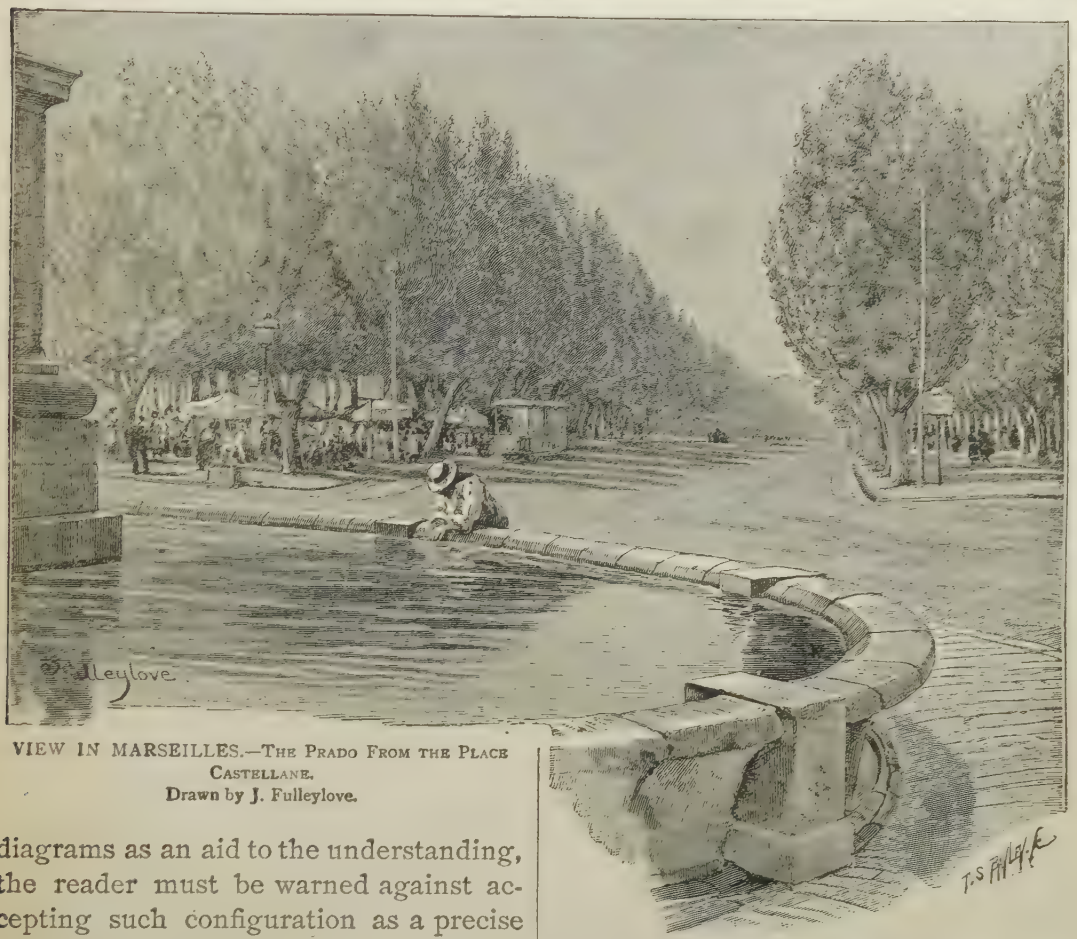
CHAPTER LXXI.—THE PROVENÇALS.

WE have still to consider briefly the two remaining divisions of the Latin family. The first of these is the Provençal stock, planted and developed in Southern France. To what extent this race may be regarded as a separate and distinct derivative from the Roman family, or to what extent it should be considered as an offshoot of the Gallo-Latin race in Northern France, is still a question of controversy. In fact, that species of diagram which represents the departures of the different races of men by lines radiating from common centers and branching here and there is, as we have intimated in other parts of the present work, misleading and erroneous. Such representation is too exact and rectilinear for the facts to which it refers. No doubt the mind is aided in its apprehension of the actual course of race distribution by diagrams and exact description; but the progressive processes by which mankind have been distributed into their present seats were different altogether from linear movements.

Race distribution not adequately represented with linear diagram.

Let waters be poured out from a great reservoir in a sluice upon the somewhat

irregular surface of the earth. Observe the movement as it rushes and divides and spreads. Perhaps it is not unlike the progress of the human race over the earth. But the spread of the water is more rapid and sensible. It is not such a slow and creeping process as that by which men have gone in tribes and families to their destination. While, therefore, we retain the method of linear diagrams as an aid to the understanding, the reader must be warned against accepting such configuration as a precise picture of the facts.



VIEW IN MARSEILLES.—THE PRADO FROM THE PLACE CASTELLANE.
Drawn by J. Fulleylove.

The Gallo-Roman race was formed, after the manner already described, by composition of Celts proper, of Belgians, and Aquitanian Basques, under the domination of Roman colonies, and by a gradual assimilation of the whole into a Roman type. But very early a dividing tendency was discoverable between the development in Central and in Southern France. We have already indicated the river Loire as a geographical approximation to the ancient line of division. In course of time, however, the northern development — that is, the French race proper — bore upon the southern development—that is, the Provençal—and pressed it southward by a considerable space. The original country, which was occupied by the Provençal people as discriminated from the French, may therefore be defined as bounded on the south by the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic, on the east by the Alps, and on the north by a line drawn from the estuary of the Gironde directly east

Geographical boundaries of the Provençal race.

to the Alps at the northern limits of the province of Dauphiné. This would include in ancient Provence not only the small modern province of that name on the Mediterranean, but also Dauphiné, Languedoc, Roussillon, Foix, Guienne, Gascony, Bearn, Navarre, and parts of Limousin, Auvergne, and Lyonnois.

DEATH OF ROLAND AT RONCESVALLES.—From the painting by Michallon.

It must be understood that this division of the Gallo-Roman race into two is made on the line and by the fact of language. Had it not been for the marked distinctions which presently appeared between the speech of the Old North and the Old South French, we might have hesitated—might still hesitate—to recognize the ethnic division into a Frankish and a Provençal family. But the linguistic phenomena, present in the two parts of the country, point unmistakably, not only to a different historical, but to a diverse race origin and development. In the north, beginning with the Langue d'Oil, we have seen the evolution of the French language and subsequently of the French literature of the Middle Ages and of modern times. In the south we see the development, from the basis of

Language the dividing line between French and Provençal.

PROVENÇAL SERENADER.—From *Magazine of Art.*

Langue d'Oc, of a mediæval ballad, or lyrical, literature, and a trace—after the subsidence of that type—of an independent class of compositions, even to the present day. It is true that Provençal stopped short of a complete literary efflorescence. While the old dialect of the Ile de France grew and expanded and branched into a great tree, while in Italy, by a similar process of evolution, the Italian language sprang and flourished, no such complete expansion and definite results were reached in Provençal. The idiom failed, and, it might be said, withered before its epoch of leafage and fruit bearing.

Early linguistic separation of the two peoples.

The difference between Provençal and French began at a very early age to attract the attention of the mediæval scholars. In the time of the Crusades the dialect of the warriors from the south was notably different from that of the northern horde. Not long after the fall of Acre and the conclusion of the Eastern wars a rhetorical treatise, called the *Leys d'Amors*, was composed at Toulouse. It was not the work of any single hand, but the product of several. It is written in what was designated as the *Lenga Romana;* that is, the rising folk speech of Southern France, corresponding in its character to that Romana Rustica which we have already described as the foundation of Spanish.

At an early date there had been an exposition of the language by a Catalonian poet, named Raimon Vidal, by whom the tongue was designated as *Limousin*, for the reason that the troubadours of that province had achieved unusual distinction—this before the close of the thirteenth century. We have already explained how completely the Catalan language and that of Provence were interfused along the borders, and also the circumstances by which the Catalonians were carried back and forth across the Pyrenees.

Rapid and transitory development of Provençal literature.

Already in the first century after Charlemagne, while the successors of that strong monarch were bearing the political and civil institutions established by him downwards to a lower and lower level, the Provençals were a gay and happy folk, whose imagination and creative fancy were rising into active exercise. It was one of the earliest intellectual movements in modern Europe. The poetical form of expression foreran composition in prose, and the song cycle which flourished on the tongues and harps of the troubadours was perfected. Historically, the language began its literary excursions in the eleventh century; that is, the first conscious efforts at production belong to that era. The first bards used the Latin orthography, adapting it as best they might to the new speech. The progress was rapid, too rapid, perhaps, to indicate permanence. Within a hundred and fifty years from the time of the composition of the first poems the language and literature had reached their complete evolution, and from that time both declined and finally disappeared.

Transformation of the language into vernacular forms.

Provençal was used for administrative and literary purposes to nearly the middle of the fifteenth century. It expired, or sank into a patois, in the different provinces at different times. The province of Bearn preserved the original speech as an official language to the seventeenth century, but in most of the other countries of the south it fell into decadence and disuse. Meanwhile, however, a great change had appeared in the tongue, particularly in the manner of writing it. The Latin orthography

had been found insufficient. The troubadours or their copyists had introduced new orthographical forms, copied largely from the French. The comparison between the earlier and later works in Provençal show how greatly these changes had worked in what may be called the physical aspect of the language. It was thus within a limit of four centuries that Provençal ran its entire course. After 1450 it was heard only incidentally or on the tongues of peasants. But it had, meanwhile, embalmed itself in a literature so poetical and happy as to elicit the admiration of all after times.

THE MINSTREL ADENES LI ROIS BEFORE QUEEN MARY OF FRANCE.
From a manuscript of the thirteenth century.

While Boëthius, last of the Roman authors born under the Western empire, was awaiting sentence of death in the prison of Pavia, he composed his *Consolation of Philosophy*, greatest of his works. Being a mixture of prose and verse, and expressing such philosophical sentiments as have always been appropriate to the human mind in sorrow, the book gained great fame, and held it unimpaired during the Middle Ages. It furnished one of the first bases of mediæval translation. After having been rendered into Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, it began to be turned into the folk tongues of Western Europe. Alfred the Great of England selected it for translation into Anglo-Saxon, and thus did much to fix the forms of his native language. It furnished also the subject-matter of the first great production in Provençal. An unknown author of the eleventh century took the Latin work as the ground of his own composition, producing what in after ages would have been called an *adaptation* rather than a translation. The author designates himself as a "clerk," reminding one of the colloquial style of Chaucer. A little later, William IX, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Guienne, appeared in the rôle of poet, producing eleven compositions, which have been preserved for the study and amusement of modern times. William himself was a Crusader, but his war was with the Saracens of Spain rather than with the infidels of the East. In these earliest efforts of the Provençal imagination there is a strong reflection of Christian sentiments. Even the work of Boëthius, which was pagan in the last degree, was given a Christian cast, and made didactic in translation by its author.

Relation of Boëthius to Romanic and English prose.

The Provençal literature thus pro-

jected passed rapidly from the hands of the clerks to the hands of folk bards, of singers who knew not Latin. The popular language and popular strains of thought more and more prevailed over that style which had been at the beginning a sort of classicism. The earliest poems had been given forth by the learned guild, and the subject-matter had little popularity in it. The themes

The folk bards run away with the learned guild.

mental refinement continued to struggle for expression, and though the classical models were abandoned, though the language of the people was adopted, the themes of emotion, particularly of love, continued to be the subject of the song. Dante, in his *Vita Nuova*, remarks that the first mediæval bards who used the vulgar tongue in their compositions did so in order that their ladyloves, *who*

The love and war theme preserved; Dante's reasons.

PLOWMAN OF LANGUEDOC—TYPE.

were rather subjective and personal than objective, descriptive, passionate. But the latter themes came in, and the troubadour cycle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries proceeded from the Joglars, or folk singers, rather than from the clerks.

It was the prevalence of the latter class of composers in the north of France that gave to the early poetry of that country its rough, popular, and warlike cast. In the south, the old sentiment refinement continued to struggle for expression, and though the classical models were abandoned, though the language of the people was adopted, the themes of emotion, particularly of love, continued to be the subject of the song. Dante, in his *Vita Nuova*, remarks that the first mediæval bards who used the vulgar tongue in their compositions did so in order that their ladyloves, *who could not read Latin*, might enjoy the effusion of sentiment and chivalry poured out in the folk speech rhymes.

In the south country, in all places where Provençal was cultivated, in Catalonia beyond the Pyrenees, and indeed throughout Spain and Portugal, the troubadours became ever-welcome visitants to the people. Their influence over the public mind was very great. Even in the north of France, where this class

Age and ascendency of the Provençal troubadours.

of bards were not well received, their productions were admired. They had caught the national spirit. Their effusions did much to kindle the rising consciousness of Europe. The reader must revert in mind to the complete break-up of society under feudalism and to the Crusades as the first common effort of Europe in a common cause. In this cause were blended the zeal of the Church and the lyrical enthusiasm of the troubadours. The traveling monk, going from place to place, inciting the people to insurrection and to march against the Infidels of the East, found his readiest helper in the wandering rhapsodist who recited in castle halls, and even at the doors of the homes of peasants, the ballads of war and devotion.

We can easily see in these influences the antecedent suggestions of that chivalry which was soon to gild the darkness of the age. The ideal sentiments which the Provençal poetry embalmed, which it reïterated and enforced in every quatrain, were the premonitory flashes of that gallantry and knighthood which, however fictitious, were the redeeming features of the subsequent epoch. It is in the nature of a popular poetry to encourage fidelity, to fan the flame of devotion, to make heroism beautiful, and love the principal thing. All of these tendencies were promoted by the Provençal literature. No other peoples of modern times have had the lyrical disposition so strongly developed as those of Southern France and Spain. Provence was the land of song and of singers in an age when gloom and violence were the prevailing facts in the general society of Western Europe. We can but look back with admiration and sympathy to the small but ecstatic flights of the human mind as it rose, lark-like, with the revival of morning in the sunny regions of ancient Languedoc and around the Mediterranean coast from the spurs of the Alps to the foot of the Pyrenees.

Sentiment and song become corporeal in chivalry.

What is here said is intended merely as illustrative of the character of the Provençal branch of the Latin family of nations. We can discover in the conditions of early intellectual development in Southern France the antecedents of much of the future history of the country. It has been for three centuries difficult to maintain national unity between the French and the Provençals, on account of the diverse spirit of the two peoples. True, the language, the institutions, the manners, the political methods of the French nation have been extended to the Mediterranean, and travel and intercourse and intermarriage have obliterated the more conspicuous features of diversity present in the Middle Ages. But ever and anon, even to the middle and after part of the nineteenth century, the old prevailing spirit of the Provençals revives in some form of political or social action at variance with the general course of the French people.

Persistency of race instincts among the Provençals.

Most strikingly was this displayed in the movements of a hundred years ago which led to the revolution of 1789, and which gave in several crises a determinate course to that great conflict. *Loyalty* was a quality of mind and action for which the Provençals had been immemorially distinguished. Should they abandon the venerable monarchy? Should they remain quiet while the ancient aristocratic liberties of France were swept away? Should they tamely submit to the disgrace and overthrow of the mother Church? Much of the

Loyalty and liberty struggle for mastery in Provence.

history of the revolutionary struggle turns about the negative answers which were given by the Provençal loyalists in the south to these critical questions. It was difficult in all stages of the great transformation to secure the coöperation of the southern populations in the work of transforming France. Time and again the generals of the republic were compelled to visit the southern and southwestern cities with fire and sword in order to compel acquiescence in the course of action which was resisted by the ancient spirit of the race.

A GIRONDIST GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION.—Drawn by Eugene Girardet.

At the same time another old-time quality of the Provençal mind brought forth an opposite result. The patriotic enthusiasm of the people operated to produce in certain classes and in certain characters precisely the reverse of that loyalism which we have described above. Wherever the republican spirit broke out in Southern France in the days of the French revolution, it flamed with unusual coruscations. In no other part of the kingdom did leaders of the revolution appear who so readily grasped the bottom principles of the conflict, and who at so early a day reasoned it out to its ultimate consequences.

Many of the principal characters of the revolutionary epoch came out of sŏuthern cities. The whole Gironde may be regarded as Provençal. The Girondist principles of society and government may be said to have been the very bloom of the Provençal mind. Mark well, also, the Comte de Mirabeau. No abler than he, no stronger, appeared in all that stormy horizon. He was out of Provence. Whence came that

Provence gives her soul of fire to the revolution.

body of republican soldiers, marching from afar? Steady, steady is their tramp, tramp, on their way to the north, to Paris. Tall, swart men, but lithe, they are; great-skulled, strong, resolute, unshorn during the long journey; republican to the core. They are singing this song on the march and at the gates of Paris:

> "Ye sons of France, awake to glory!
> Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!"

It is that most fiery of all revolutionary songs which the sons of men have sung as they have gone into the conflict. It is *La Marseillaise;* and the name carries with it to all posterity the place from which and the soldiers by whom the patriotic pæan was first chanted.

What town is that yonder on the coast, precipitous on one side, fortified, held by royalists in league with the English shipping in the harbor, hateful to republican France? And who is that bronzed artillery captain, now sleeping among his guns, now bounding with a lion's spring on Fort L'Eguillette? The town is Toulon, and the slight, swarthy artillery officer has the name of Bonaparte! So also Lyons tumbles from her foundations, and Marseilles is half consumed with fire by this republican wrath which has turned back to bite and burn the royalist wrath which it had left behind it. All this is Provençal—the remains of an old race conflict between the men of the Mediterranean coast and the men of the Seine.

French race indebted to the Provençals for refinement.

We have already remarked upon the extent to which the French nation as such has been indebted to Provençal influences for its enlightenment and progress. Especially in a social point of view did the predominant people take the form and fashion of the south. In the Middle Ages Central France had not by any means become the mirror in which all the rest of European society must discover the lineaments of politeness and elegant form. The society of Paris, such as it became under the Bourbon princes, was an importation from the south. At the time of the Crusades it had already been discovered that in manners and customs, in costume and address, the southern knights and their ladies were far superior to those whose demesnes lay north of the Loire.

Teutonic races underestimate the social forms of the French.

Thus came into the valley of the Seine, to Paris, to Versailles, that type of gay and gallant social intercourse by which all modern societies in Europe and America have, to a certain extent, glassed themselves into corresponding elegance. Such phenomena as we are here describing are not easily apprehensible. A nation is never conscious of its own manners. Society, even by a conscious effort, can not see itself. It does, however, discover in *other* societies certain pleasing things, and is likely to imitate and adopt them as its own. This imitation, fortunately, is generally in the direction of superior things and against the barbarian prejudices of the past. There is existent a certain pessimistic view of human affairs which refuses to recognize the moral and intellectual benefits and elevating tendencies of polite intercourse such as the Gallo-Roman race has developed in France. Others, willing to recognize the superior refinements established by French society, still hold that the ruder forms and manners which have come down to modern times in the Teutonic channel are better for the peoples to whom such usages have descended. But in an age when cosmopolitan influences are abroad, such a view of the case is

too narrow and provincial to be accepted. The same compulsion which rests upon French society to accept some of the sterner principles of morality which are, at least nominally, the rules of action among the English- and German-speaking races, rests also among the latter to accept the polite æstheticism and beautiful rules of social intercourse which French society has produced. And the student of history will not fail to remember that the germs of this beautiful social structure, of its accomplishments, its gaiety, its cheerful spirit and high color, are nearly all to be discovered in that sunny country of love-lyrics and courtesies—the ancient land of the Provençals.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE WALLACHIANS.

THERE yet remains a sixth and last division of the Latin race, the Wallachian. It may be well in entering upon a brief consideration of this last of the Roman peoples of modern times to note first its locus. Geographically speaking, Wallachia lies in the bowl of the Danube. The shape of the river is that of the Great Dipper transferred to the earth. The cup is open to the north. The situation is such as well might hold the residuum of a great race. On the east and south and a large part of the west the Danube is the safe boundary—that Danube which in the closing epoch of the Roman republic was established as the frontier line against barbarism.

Geographical situation of Wallachia.

The student of history need not be told that the country here referred to is the Dacia of the Roman empire. With the extension of the imperial power the Eagles were moved to the north and east, and established as far as the river Tyras, the modern Dniester. Between that stream and the Danube the province of Dacia was organized and administered from the time of the early Cæsars until after the downfall of the empire of the West.

The reader will also bear in mind that the Dacians were a Gothic race, and that of all the barbarian peoples with whom Rome came in contact on the frontier, they were the most assimilated by her agency and influence. It was out of this region that the Visigoths were transplanted to the right bank of the Danube; and from the same source the migration of the Gothic race began, and in the fifth century carried a new ethnic current into Italy and Spain.

Relations of the Dacians with the Roman power.

Meanwhile, however, the sons of Constantine had divided the Roman empire, establishing a new capital at Constantinople. It happened that while the Gothic nations were pressing to the West, the Eastern empire may be said to have made a counterinvasion of Gothland. The people of Dacia had long since been Christianized by the agency of their great evangel Ulfilas, first translator of the Scriptures into a German tongue. Other influences radiated from the East and joined those of the West in Latinizing the tribes on the left banks of the Danube. These accepted the language and institutions of the conquerors, as did the Celts in

Gaul and the Iberians in Spain. Here were laid the foundations of a Latin race in this region so far removed from Italy.

But let us look back for a moment at the ethnic *origines* of this region. Dacia was one of the most interesting countries lying along the borders of the Roman empire. It was inhabited originally by the Getæ, an Indo-European tribe, thought to have been out of Illyria or Thrace, and therefore allied, perhaps, ultimately with the Æolic Greeks. The Getæ held the country in the bowl of the Danube at the time when Rome first put out her standards to the frontiers of Europe. The Getæ were warlike. Of old, they had joined the Scythians in their resistance to Darius the Great when that monarch invaded Europe. For a short time Dacia was nominally a province in the Persian empire. Philip of Macedon courted and dreaded this people, and in order to make himself strong in that direction sought and obtained the daughter of the Dacian king, Cothelas, in marriage. But the Getæ were not safe allies. They again joined the Scythian tribes when Alexander invaded this region. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, at one time sought to subdue them, but was himself routed and obliged to give his daughter to their king in marriage. Finally he fell prisoner in their hands, and was saved alive and restored to liberty by his Getian son-in-law.

Place and relationships of the ancient Getæ.

VIEW IN WALLACHIA.—Fortress of Orsova.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

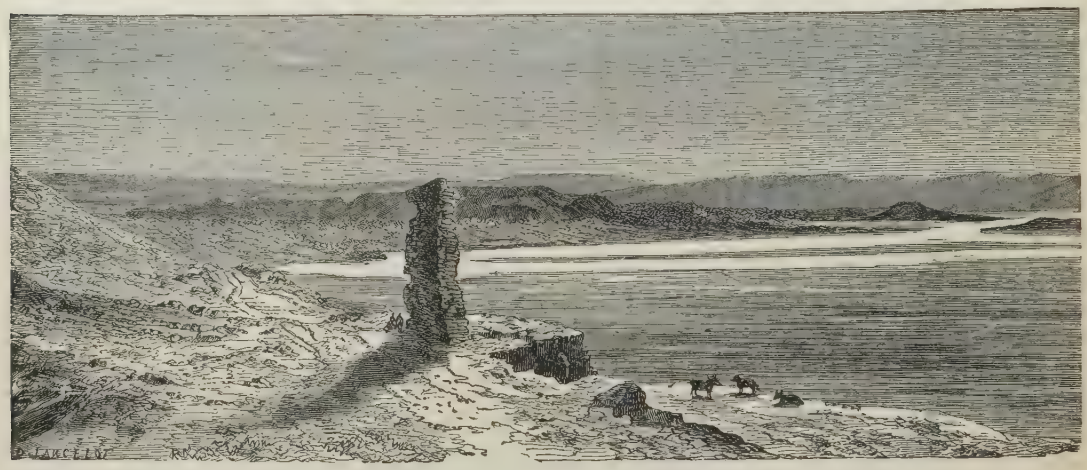
The Gauls in their great reflex movement across Europe passed over Dacia and defeated the Getæ in battle. They sold them in large numbers as slaves to the Athenians and other Greeks. Dus-

The Daci conquer the Getæ and amalgamate with them.

ing the first half of the first century B. C., the Daci, thought to have been kinsmen of the Getæ, came in out of Thrace. They were emigrants from the vicinity of Rhodope in that country, and succeeded in the year 57 B. C. in effecting a permanent settlement in Dacia, which henceforth took their name. For a considerable length of time they and the Getæ were co-countrymen, but the Daci were the stronger, and the name of the other people disappears at the close of the first century of our era.

At this time the Dacians were among the most formidable races with whom the Romans had to contend on the frontiers of the empire. It was in 101 A. D. that Trajan went against them in person, and meeting them at a place afterwards called *Pratum Trajani*, or Trajan's Crossroads, overthrew them in battle. Three years later he made another campaign, and at the capital, Varhely, the Dacian king, Vecebulas, committed suicide, and the country became a Roman province. The usual plan was adopted of securing future good order. A bridge was constructed across the Danube, and three great military roads, built after the Roman manner, were carried by the conquerors into the conquered country. Trajan's bridge was reckoned among the greatest structures of the kind in the ancient world, and the site is still pointed out by travelers.

It was in honor of the triumph of the Roman arms and of the successful campaigns of the emperor that the Column of Trajan, at Rome, was reared. Most of the figures on the exterior of that superb monument were those of Dacian captives. It was a barbarian warrior of the same race who was taken as a model for the *Dying Gladiator*, at Rome. Lord Byron has not failed to catch the reference to the nationality of the expiring soldier who "leans upon his hand," and



RUINS OF TRAJAN'S BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

Dacia becomes a dependency of Rome; Trajan's victories.

> "Consents to death, but conquers agony,
> . . . . . .
> The arena swims around him—he is gone,
> Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.
>
> He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
> Were with his heart, and that was far away;
> He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
> But where his rude hut by the Danube lay
> *There* were his young barbarians all at play,
> *There* was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,
> Butchered to make a Roman holiday."

But it was not only by military roads and bridges, not only by the transfer-

ence of masses of captives to Italy, to be kept there in slavery or made a sport for the populace, that Rome sought to establish her dominion in conquered provinces. It was chiefly by colonizing them with Roman subjects that she trusted to maintain her authority and hold the scepter of good order in all parts of the empire. Thus did she in Dacia. Colonies were gathered from other provinces and transferred to the country beyond the Danube. It is not known how many of these Roman settlements were planted in the country, but their number was sufficient. Dacia was Romanized, and the subject people—Dacians, descendants of the Getæ, scattered companies of Goths, all more or less amalgamated — found themselves in the presence and under the surveillance of a stronger than they. It was the same situation which we have already seen in Gaul, in Spain, in Portugal, and which we shall hereafter see in nearly all the countries of Western Europe.

The empire colonizes; absorption of the race.

Thus it was that the people of Dacia as early as the second century of our era became Latinized. This was before the days of the Goths. The reader of history will recall how in the times of Domitian Rome had quailed before the Dacian people, and had agreed to pay a tribute for the maintenance of peace. The Trajanian wars had ended this humiliation; but the Dacians continued warlike until the close of the third century, when Aurelian deemed it prudent to withdraw from beyond the Danube, and to constitute that river the frontier line of the empire. Thereafter the Roman legions had their station on the right bank of the Danube, and Dacia lay open to a Gothic conquest. As early as 248 A. D. the latter race was sufficiently strong in Dacia to make an inroad upon the empire. The Emperor Claudius defeated them in battle at Naisus, in Dardania, in the year 269. Aurelian had battles with them. But it was their growing power north of the Danube that led that emperor to withdraw from Dacia, and constitute the river the boundary between Rome and barbarism.

TRAJAN—IMPERIAL TYPE.

The Goths press the Danubian frontier.

It may be said that the Gothic race passed *through* Dacia on its way to the southwest. There was a considerable period when the Goths were predominant in the country, but it is doubtful whether they ever constituted a majority of the population. In the districts that lay

Ethnic constitution of the Wallachians.

back from the river the probability is that the old Dacian tribes still continued to preponderate in numbers and extent. In fact, *that* Dacia to which history has been so much disposed to point as the seat of the earliest Teutonic civilization, the center of the Mæso-Gothic culture to which Ulfilas's translation of the Scriptures contributed so powerfully, lay on the right bank of the river, within the limits of the empire proper. We may thus consider the Wallachian race to have been constituted ethnically of a substratum of Aryanism composed of two ancient Thracian races, the Getæ and the Dacians. The latter were Romanized at the beginning of the second century. A large Roman population was directly imported, and from this the subsequent language and manners and tendencies of the race were chiefly derived. Then came the Goths, the second, or Germanic, stratum in the composition of the people; then a long administration extending from the Eastern capital of the empire and bringing with it many elements of Latin and even of Greek derivation; finally, the subjugation of the country by the Turks.

Outline of the vicissitudes of the race.

The history of the Wallachian race from the time of the overthrow of the Western empire of the Romans to the subversion of the Eastern empire by the Turcomans is exceedingly obscure. We may assume that the race elements which we have already described continued in fusion and growth without much disturbance until the sixth century, when the Slavs came in from the north and greatly modified the population. We know from the testimony of language that this invasion amounted to a conquest; for the largest single element of words in the Vlach, or Wallachian, language, after the Roman element, is Slavic. There must have been a very considerable infusion of a northern stock to have produced so great a change in the speech of the people.

After this event the country continued as it had been, a province of the Eastern empire, for several centuries. In the year 1290 a Transylvania leader called Radul Negru, who bore the title of *waywode* of the Roumans, came down with large forces and established his capital at Argish. After this time the nominal dependence on the Greek empire of Constantinople was broken and the country was what was called a waywodate, under the suzerainty of the King of Hungary. But at length Wallachia became independent, and remained so until the beginning of those Mohammedan conquests which presently ended in the capture of Constantinople.

The Wallachians at bottom a Roman people.

After this event the Turcoman sultans were wont to appoint a ruler for Wallachia and Moldavia, and to a certain extent the population was again modified by Turkish influences. In the bottom, however, and essentially, it continued to be a Roman people, with a Latin language; and it is from this point of view that the modern Roumanians are to be considered in ethnography and general history. They constitute the easternmost branch of the Latin race, and have derived the greater part of their language and institutions from the Latin and from precedents which were established under the Roman empire.

The Vlach language; philosophy of the "line."

The language is known as *Vlach*. The word is the old Gothic Voloch, which has in the Slavic tongue been modified into Vlach. The people, however, called themselves *Rumeni*, *Romeni*, or *Romani*. The first syllable, however, is pro-

nounced *rou*—the whole being another example of a people of one name speaking a language of another name. As

RICH WALLACHIAN PEASANT—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

we have said, there is every evidence that this Vlach, or Rouman, race belongs ethnically in the Latin stem. In general,

TRADESMAN OF BUCHAREST—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the distribution of the people so called is throughout the modern kingdom of Roumania, embracing the two mediæval countries of Wallachia and Moldavia But here again the student must be on his guard against limiting ethnic facts with lines. No race of men is or has ever been circumscribed with a geographical line. The latter is an artifice adopted by men for *political* convenience. The youth in his nonage passing from one country to another expects to find a line on the earth; but finds none. He is surprised to see the houses on the two sides of the "line" built after the same pattern and inhabited by the same kind of people. He must search long before he will find the people on one side of

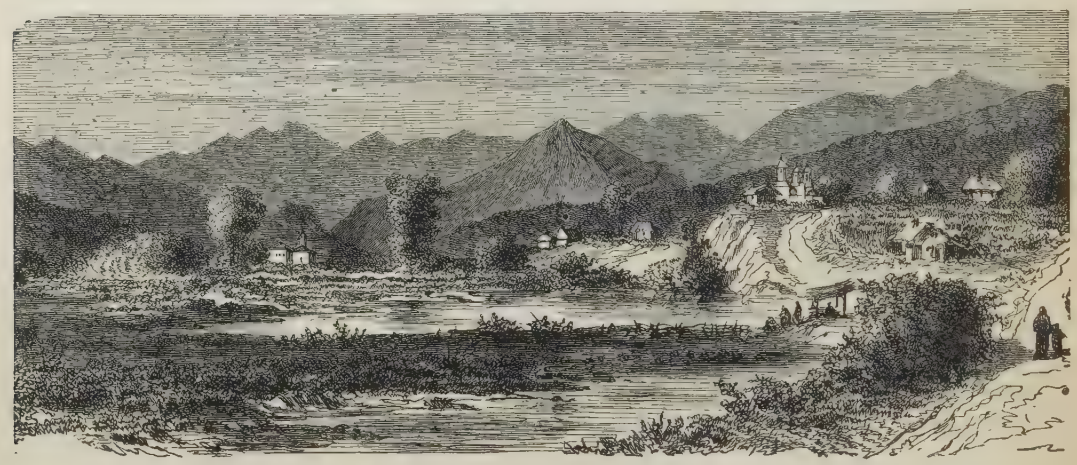
JEW OF BUCHAREST—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the "line" speaking a language different from that spoken by those on the other side. Manners and customs are confluent along all such selvages; and in the flowing together and intermingling of all currents the expected "line" becomes a myth.

We should not expect to bound the Rouman race by the limits of Roumania. In fact, it has spread over the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction. It has even on the south flowed across

Outspread of Wallachian stock into surrounding states.

the Danube. The central valleys of the Pindus mountains are inhabited by Roumanians; that is, people speaking the Vlach language and descended originally from the Latin stirps. There is a colony of them in Epirus and others in Ætolia and Acarnania, and in different districts of Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. Northward of the kingdom of Roumania the race has extended into Bessarabia and into the countries of South Russia. Transylvania has received the Roumanians in several regions, and Hungary, particularly Banat, is partly populated by the same family.



ARGIS.

It has even spread to the shores of the Adriatic. In Servia the Roumanian element is preponderant, and in Istria the same stock is represented by the people called Cici, who are classified as Romani. Centrally, however, the race has its locus in ancient Dacia as that province was constituted in the times of Trajan.

A recent school of writers, headed by Rœsler, have controverted the original Roman derivation of the Wallachians. It has been urged by them that the old Latin colonists were withdrawn in the times of the Emperor Aurelian, and particularly that in subsequent ages the country was overrun by the Goths, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Avars, the Slavs, and the Bulgarians—to the virtual extinction of the Roman stock. The fact is also cited that we have a particular account of a Roumanian colony planted in the country in the year 1222, as though that were the origin of the modern people. But if we admit all this, the facts remain as they were before—that a Latin-speaking people have given tone and character and ethnic constitution to the whole race occupying the great bowl on the left of the Lower Danube.

Roman elements predominant in Wallachian character.

It should not be forgotten that the Latin colonists who planted themselves—or were planted rather by the republic and empire—in foreign parts were the dominant people, ruling the provincials as they would. If in the course of one or two centuries afterwards these colonials were formally withdrawn, their *blood* could not be withdrawn, nor could the institutions, the language, which they had left behind with their blood be again transplanted from the place in which they had taken permanent root. It is a matter of history that the colonists sent out from Rome and established in con-

In ethnic formation the strongest part prevails

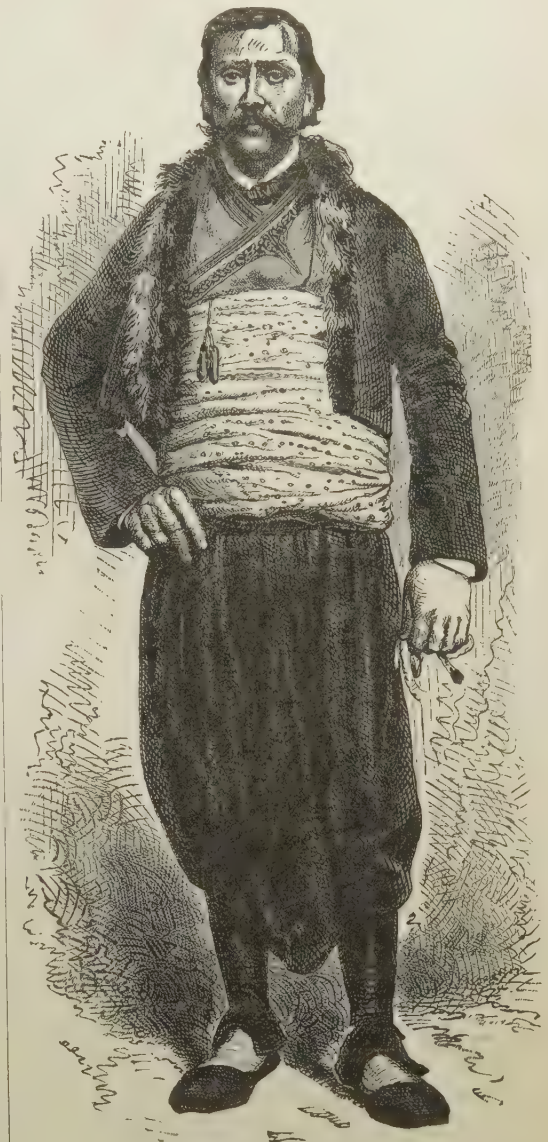
quered provinces rapidly drew to themselves the better elements of the native society. We must consider that such a relation was one of license, that the formalities of marriage would be little regarded, and that a Latin colony would in the course of one or two generations so diffuse itself among the subject people as to be henceforth ineradicable. It was thus, if we mistake not, that the ethnic constitution of the Wallachian race was given its Roman cast, and the subsequent inroads of migrating barbarian tribes could not displace the stronger race which had established itself in the country.

The Wallachian stock spreads into surrounding regions.

It may be said with truth that the Wallachian race, considered as a member of the Latin family, is lacking definition; that is, that the division between this people and the surrounding nations is not clear enough to constitute an ethnic demarkation. On the north there is a fading out of race characteristics and an interfusion of the Moldavians and Wallachians with the people of Bessarabia and Southern Russia. On the side of Greece there is the same merging, in the Pindus region, with the Albanians, and on the west it is difficult to say at what point the Wallachian element ceases to predominate over the Hungarian. On all sides there is a certain fading out of the distinct ethnography which we are able to trace in the case of the Italians and the other members of the great Roman family.

Lack of geographical definition around the race.

But this result has arisen in part from geographical considerations. The reader will perceive at a glance how greatly the ethnic solidarity of the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese have been maintained by the great walls of the Alps and the Pyrenees and the circumjacent oceans. In Wallachia there has been no such natural protection to the integrity of the race; and for this reason the Roumanian blood has diffused itself, as we have seen, across the bor



BULGARIAN OF SOPHIA—TYPE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard, from a photogtaph.

ders, spreading among many kindreds on all sides. It may also be remembered that few countries have been so many times violently agitated by barbarian invasions and counter-conquests of foreign nations as has Wallachia. The

bowl of the Danube in which the country lies was a sort of flat-bottomed funnel, into which all the barbarism of Northeastern Europe was wont to pour itself, in the attempt to find open sluices into the West. Nevertheless, if we take our stand in what was ancient Dacia, the Dacia of Trajan and Aurelian, we shall find around us the descendants of a race as truly Latin in its original derivation as the French or the Spaniards.

pressure from the side of Asia. Southwestern Asia has borne hard on Northeastern Europe. Certain cosmic forces have worked constantly as a draft upon Asiatic barbarism; or to speak more correctly, those forces are compulsive, urging forward the peoples of Asia from behind, driving them upon Europe with a violence as though they had been discharged from a volcanic mortar.

The uncivilized, or at most half-civ-

HOME OF A PEASANT PROPRIETOR.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

For historical reasons which the reader will readily apprehend, the Wallachians have been of later development as a people than the other members of the Latin family. The causes for this tardiness in race evolution are not far to seek. The general condition of Eastern Europe for much more than a thousand years—we might say for fifteen hundred years—has been one of

Conditions in Eastern Europe retard development.

ilized, condition of the region from which the Asiatics have been thus constantly vomited into Europe has made it impossible for the countries this side of the Ural mountains and the Caspian to civilize with energy and rapidity. The spectacle has been that of the constant displacement of more refined and settled populations by those less refined and less settled in their habits. Hardly to

Asiatic barbarism disturbs the civilizing forces.

the present day has this barbarian pressure ceased. Russia at the present time bears hard on all the countries to the west and south. She presses them with a force that she does not herself understand, with a passion which she could not herself interpret. Several of the Danubian countries have suffered seriously from this ethnic and cosmic condition. Trees do not grow well in a situation where the landslide prevails. They require permanence of footing. So also does man. If his native place seems to slip from its foundation, or if some violence which he can not control presses him from his habitat, he becomes angry with the disturbed order of nature, and is more disposed to take the barbarian mood of the force which has provoked him than he is to create a civilization for his descendants.

ROUMANIANS OF TEMESVAR—TYPES.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

The peoples inhabiting the modern kingdom of Roumania have been peculiarly distressed by the action of these general laws, and have hardly yet assured themselves of that permanency which is requisite for the creation of the higher forms of the civilized life. Fully three fourths of the whole population are still in the agricultural stage. True, the country is specially adapted to the production of wheat, barley, and corn; but the methods of cultivation are primitive and imperfect, and such improvements as have been introduced in the ancient methods have resulted from the importation of foreign capital.

Roumanians particularly retarded by want of repose.

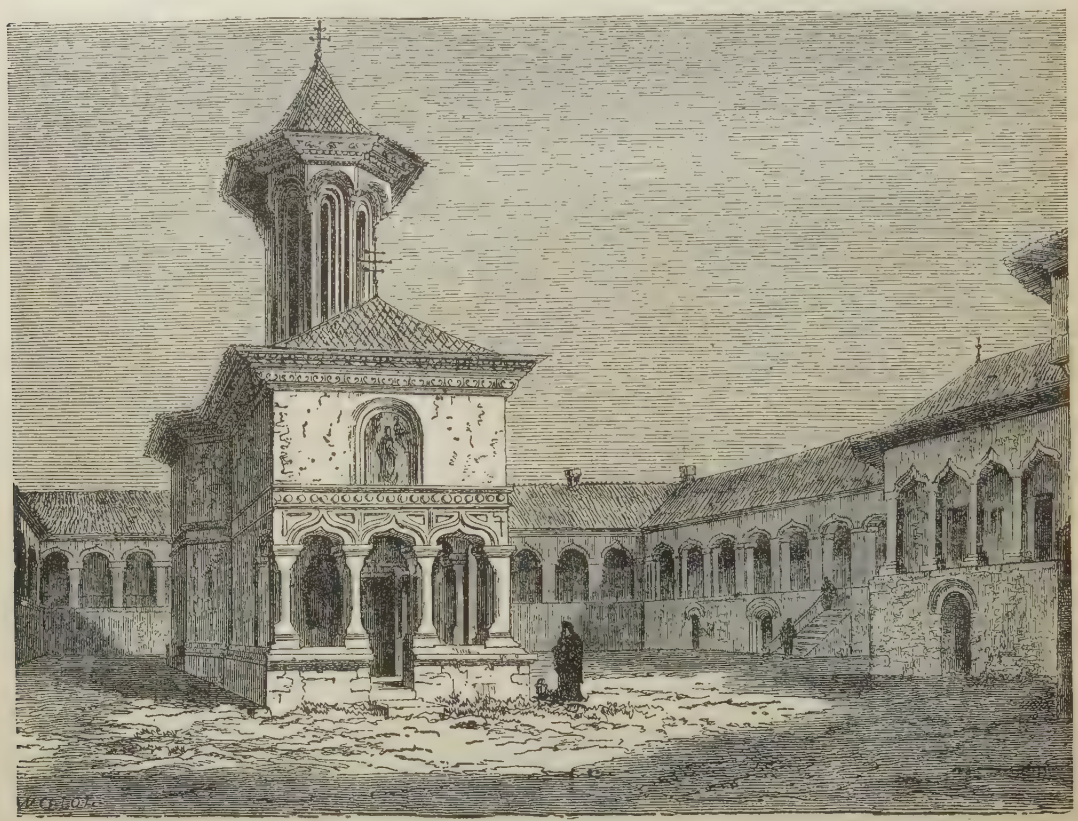
To the present day the Wallachian peasants may be seen scratching the earth with that ancient form of plow the share of which, resembling a lancehead, enters the ground horizontally, and is little more than a drag. One sixth of the whole country is still covered with the original forest. One acre out of every hundred and twenty-five is planted with the vine. The principal annual

production is in the great cereals, the abundance of which has within recent times made Wallachia, as well as some other of the Danubian provinces, a rival of the United States in the wheat markets of the world.

Methods of production; principal resources.

It is only in recent times that the railroad and the telegraph have made their way into Wallachia. The first railway was laid in 1869. In 1884 the lines had extended to about a thousand miles, and the telegraph to nearly three thousand miles. As yet the manufacturing industries of Roumania are scarcely sufficient to require enumeration. The principal of these are petroleum refineries, refineries for sugar, steam flouring mills, and peculiar floating grist mills for grinding corn, that are towed up and down the Danube according to the exigencies of the crop. Forty per cent of the foreign trade of Roumania is carried on with Austria, thirty per cent with Great Britain, and ten per cent with France. The interior trade of the country is almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, of whom there are about four hundred thousand in Roumania. The cities of the country have generally adopted the *Octroi*, or internal tariff system of trade, greatly to the detriment of commercial interests.

Physical improvements and progress; trade and the octroi.



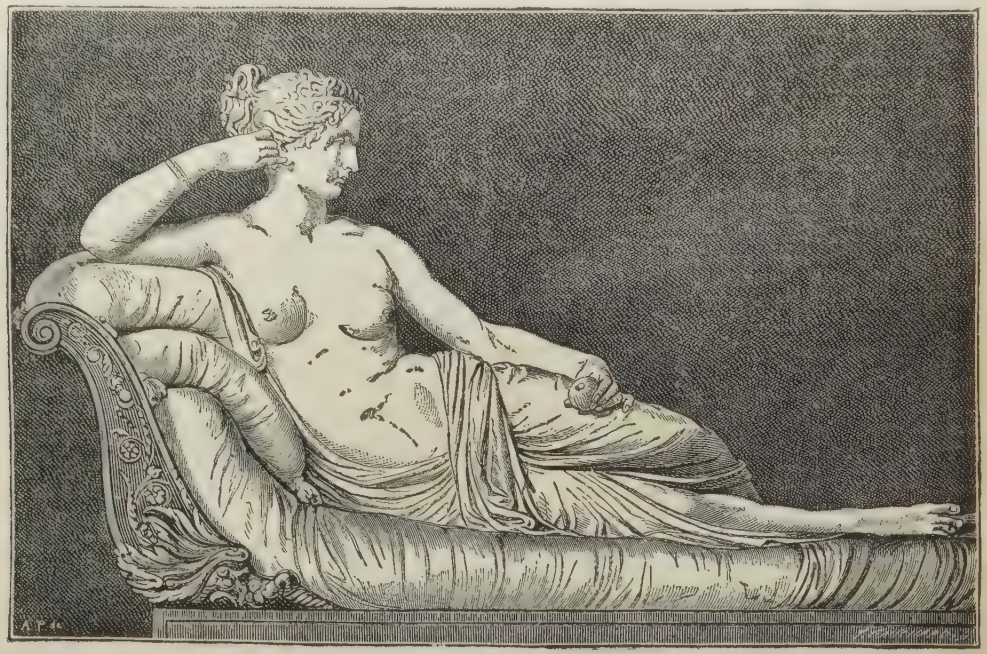
COURT OF THE CONVENT OF SURPATELE.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

Bucharest is as yet the only Roumanian city of the first class, though Yassy and Galatz are both approaching the line of a hundred thousand inhabitants each. Out of a population of over eight million there were, in 1883, only a hundred and twenty-four thousand pupils in

Distribution of the Roumanian population.

OLD PUBLIC SQUARE IN BUCHAREST.—Drawn by D Lancelot

the primary schools. Bucharest and Yassy have each its university, with an aggregate of nearly a hundred professors and lecturers and over seven hundred students. Most of the young Roumanians of promise who desire a university education go abroad to obtain it, the greater number of them to Paris. The Roumania academy has furnished in recent years the beginnings of scientific culture, and its reputation is rapidly extending.



ITALIAN IDEALS.—The Borghese Venus.—Drawn by Paquier, from a photograph.

We have now reached a stage of the present inquiry from which some general views may be obtained of the Latin races in their distribution and character. Of those peoples who have their ethnic origin in the Roman stem, the French have the first place. This may be said of every element of civilization with the exception of art. In artistic development, the first place must be accorded to the Italians. As to population, which is the great starting point of all such investigations, we may begin with Portugal as unity. Counting the Portuguese as one, the Roumanians will be represented by two, the Spaniards by three, the Italians by seven, and the French by ten. This proportion does not include the Brazilian Portuguese or the Mexican and South American Spaniards, but does include the Provençals with the French. Neither ethnography nor history any longer keeps up the distinction between the Provençal race and the dominant people with which it has been merged. Such distinction must be preserved when we are considering the ethnic antecedents of the peoples in the north and the south of France, but since the revolution of 1789, the merging of the one with the other has been effected to the extent of nationalizing both branches of the Gallo-Roman race under the common name of French.

Relative development and promise of the Latin races.

If we consider the relative extent of the departure of the several Latin races from the ancient Roman type, we shall

be surprised to find that the home people, that is, the Italians, have perhaps gone as far from the original standard as any of the other five branches of the family. If we bring together groups of the average representatives of the Italian, the Wallachian, the French, the Provençal, the Spanish, and the Portuguese families, and a group of ancient Romans as a standard of comparison, we shall find the Italians as widely deflected from the originals as any other division of the race with the possible exception of the Wallachians. This is true even in language. Linguistically considered, the greatest departure from Latin is the Wallachian, and that which has best preserved the original is Portuguese. Next to Wallachian, French has been most deflected from the Latin standard; then Italian, and then Spanish.

Italians and Wallachians most strongly deflected from Roman type.

Perhaps in personal bearing, in manners, and certainly in such details as costume, the Spanish group would be nearest to the Roman. The Spaniard lacks much of the vehemence and strength, the aggressive energy, of his prototype, but his haughtiness, his cold, severe countenance, his high manners, even his cloak, flung toga-wise around his person, and particularly the cruelty of disposition to which he can be easily provoked, all tell unmistakably of a Roman original.

Spaniards in some particulars preserve the Roman original.

Among these groups, the French have gone farthest in the direction of modern sympathies—farthest from the stateliness, hauteur, and autocracy of the original stock. Indeed the French, as we have seen, have themselves become in large measure the standards by which all the sympathetic and sociable qualities of modern life are measured. After the French, it may be said that the Italians are, especially in the last quarter of the century, most nearly assimilated to the social, political, and ethnic standards of the present age; next after these, the Portuguese, and finally the Spaniards. In learning and intellectual acumen the French are again far in advance of the other Latin races. The Italians are, however, in an intellectual evolution which may soon make them the rivals of their neighbors across the mountains. In sculpture and painting Italy still holds the palm, but the achievements of the French are in close rivalry to their southern kinsmen. The artistic devel-

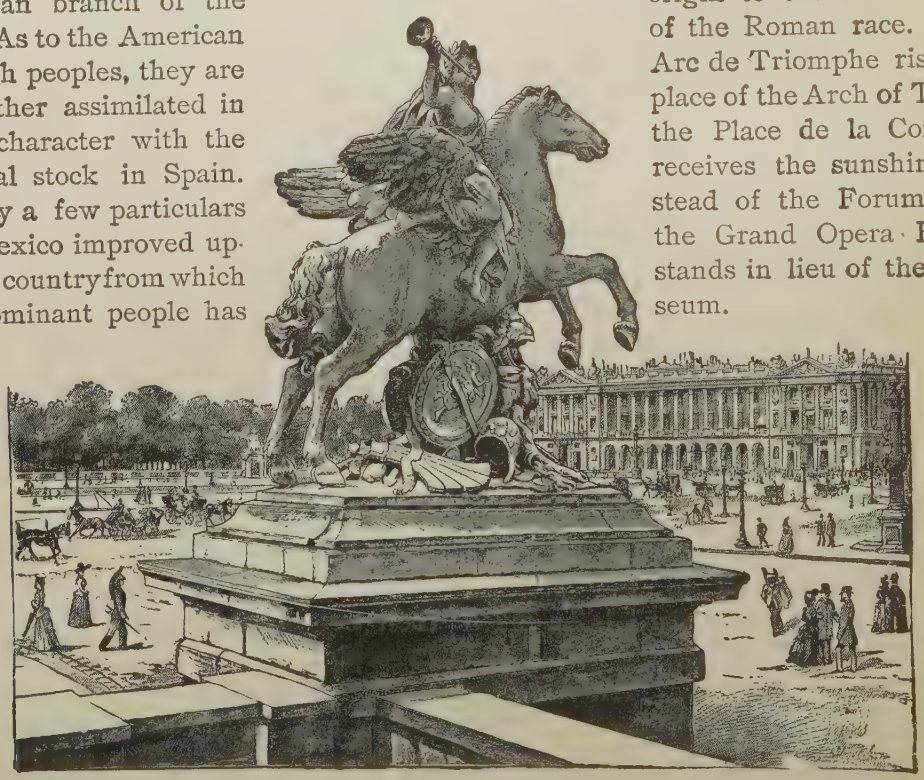
French have the leadership of the Latin family.

ITALIAN IDEALS.—The Aurora of Guido Reni.—Drawn by Paquier, from an antique engraving.

opment of mediæval Spain, particularly in painting, promised magnificent results, but the promise was blasted at the close of the sixteenth century.

In scientific achievement the palm belongs to the French and Italians, in the order named. Neither the Spanish nor Portuguese have at any time distinguished themselves by investigating the laws of nature. No great astronomer, geologist, or physicist has arisen south of the Pyrenees. Of the Portuguese branch of the Latin family we have already had occasion to speak, especially of the promise exhibited in the Brazilian division. Of all the states of the two Americas, Brazil is most in sympathy with the progressive ideas of the United States and Canada. Nor does it appear that the pall and paralysis which have fallen upon the home peoples of the Iberian peninsula have affected the Brazilian branch of the race. As to the American Spanish peoples, they are altogether assimilated in their character with the original stock in Spain. In only a few particulars has Mexico improved upon the country from which her dominant people has been derived. The same may be said of the Hispanio-South American states.

Estimates as to science; the American Spanish peoples.

The Latin race in its entirety numbers at the present day just about one hundred million of people. Of these, four tenths are French and three tenths Italians. These two constitute the bulk of the race. They also furnish its momentum. It is in France that we must take our stand if we would find ourselves in the heart of the energies of the Latin race. Here it displays itself in all its efflorescence and grandeur. Here it has become emancipated, and has taken on its own leafage and blossom and fruit. It is a great distance from Alba Longa, from Lavinium, from Roma Quadrata, to the streets of Paris; from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to the Invalides; from the Palace of the Cæsars to the Tuileries; from the Circus to the Louvre; but it requires so great a span to reach from the origin to the culmination of the Roman race. The Arc de Triomphe rises in place of the Arch of Titus, the Place de la Concord receives the sunshine instead of the Forum, and the Grand Opera House stands in lieu of the Coliseum.

France furnishes the momentum of the Latin races.